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THE

CHRONICLE

OF

JAMES I, KING OF ARAGON,

SURNAMED THE CONQUEROR

(WRITTEN BY HIMSELF).

VOL. II.

THE

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TRANSLATED FROM THE CATALAN BY THE LATE

JOHN FORSTER, ESQ.,

M.P. for Berwick.

WITH

An Historical Introduction, Notes, Appendix, Glossary, and General Index,

BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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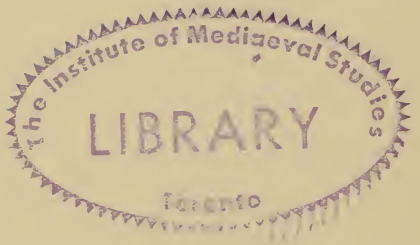

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THE CHRONICLE

OF

JAMES OF ARAGON.

CCLXXXVIII.

When they were before me I said that as to what they had asked I granted it willingly, and was content; those they had named should undertake the division; they gave me great thanks and kissed my hand. Thereupon I waited fifteen days for their division, but they made no division at all. Then Don Assalit de Gudar and Don Exemen Perez de Tarazona came again to me and said: "Now we "know what you said to us to be true; men of thin "wits do not know how to go about in matters of "this sort, or what course to take." I told them that next day I would send for the bishops and would hear if they were making divisions of the land, or what they were about. They came and said: "Know surely that we find great difficulty in this

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"business, and we really believe that we shall have "to resign our office into your hands." I said: "How resign? Since you have taken charge, by all means make an end of it;" and they went away. On the third day from that they came back, for people were crying out, and saying that those partitioners were in a bad way; they were not dividing the lands at all, but making them spend their money in vain; they themselves said that they would give it up, for they did not believe that they could bring it to an end. I then said: "Since you wish to give up your charge, I will "send for the barons, for the knights, and for the "men of the cities, before all of whom you will "deliver up your charge to me." I then held a great council in the palace of King Lope,[1] and before that council they formally resigned.

CCLXXXIX.

When I had received their resignation I sent for Don Exemen Perez de Tarazona, and Don Assalit de Gudar, and said to them: "The shame to you "comes to nothing, for the bishops cannot make "a division of the lands; it would have been other- "wise if it had been made in despite of them, and

[1] A former king of Valencia, named لُبّ, Lobb, called Aben Lope by the Spaniards.

"they had interfered with you." They said they gave me great thanks, and that I had taken the better way. I said: "Now I will show you how "to make division of the lands; you must do it "as it was done in Mallorca; in no other wise "can it be done. You shall reduce the 'jouvada' "to six cafiçades; it will still be called a 'jouvada,' "and yet will not be one.[1] Let those to whom "I gave too much have their land remeasured by "this scale." They said I spoke well; there was no other way, and so would they do. I told them also to ask for the charters of the grants, and that when I had seen them I would give to the owners in proportion to the amount of land. They did so, and thus was the final division of the land made. And that men may know when Valencia was taken, it was taken on Michaelmas Eve, in the year MCCXXXIX. [1239].[2]

[1] The "jouvada" was really of twelve "cafiçades"; so that the king gave only one-half of what had been promised under that denomination. Beuter, *Cron.* II. c. 41.

[2] According to all accounts Valencia surrendered to King James on the eve of St. Michael, which corresponds exactly with the date given in the draft of the capitulation at Rusafa, but then the year was 1238 instead of 1239, as the *Chronicle* says, which error is easily explained by the fact that the king counted no doubt from the Incarnation, which, logically speaking, preceded the Nativity by nine months, instead of following it three months after. The writer of the *Chronicle*, whoever he was, must have thought that the month of September of the year 1238, or else the Nativity coincided with that of September 1239, of the Incarnation. This is one of the arguments produced by Villaroya, *Cartas*, &c., against the authorship of King James. See Introduction.

CCXC.

Here begins the Conquest of Murcia, achieved and made by the glorious King En Jacme.

After Valencia was taken came En Ramon Folch de Cardona, with his relatives and followers—full fifty knights; and they said to me that since they had not been at the siege they prayed that it might please me that they should make a raid into the land of Murcia. And it pleased me that they should do so; and they took with them Artal de Alagon, son of Don Blasco, who knew the country well, for he had been there before. The first place they attacked was Villena. When they got near that town they caparisoned their horses, put on such armour as they had there, and spurred on against the Saracens of Villena, at once taking from them full two parts of the town. But after that they could not endure to stay, for the Saracens who were there defended themselves well, and my people had to leave the town, although they brought away much stuff and plunder they found in the houses.

CCXCI.

Thence they went to Saix, and made such a charge that they took possession of the greater part of the town. But the Saracens threw from the roof of a house a great stone, and hit Don

Artal on his iron cap, so that it threw him from his horse, and of that stroke he had to die. When they saw Don Artal was dead, they carried him out, and they had to withdraw thence for the hurt they had received, and instead of advancing they resolved, since Don Artal de Alagon was dead, to return home. And in eight days they all got back, and the raid did no good, save that they got many heads of cattle for the army to eat, and En Ramon Folch came back having accomplished that.

CCXCII.

And I took account of the barons who had been with me at the siege of Valencia, and of the knights to whom I had given "hereditaments," and I found that besides the barons and bishops there were fully three hundred and eighty knights to whom I had given "hereditaments." I called them before me, and made them my speech in this wise. Our Lord had done me such favour, that though there had been other kings as good and even better than me, yet it had not been His will to give those before me that favour and that victory which I had gained. I and they owed thanks to Our Lord, since through Him we had witnessed the taking of Valencia. And that in taking Valencia I had also conquered the rest of the kingdom. Wherefore it was necessary, since God had done so

great good and honour to me and to them, and since the whole land was conquered, that I should keep it; for which purpose I had endowed with "hereditaments" three hundred and eighty knights in the kingdom, besides the barons and bishops, on condition, however, that those whom I had so endowed should stay a year with me; after that year they might return home, and do what they pleased, and sell what they had had as their share of the spoil, of which I would take charge while they were away until a proper time.[1] Don Fernando said for himself and for all the rest that they would meet and consult thereupon, and would answer in such wise that I should be content with them. They went out to deliberate, and the answer was not long delayed.

CCXCIII.

Having told Don Fernando to speak for all the others, he stood up and said, that they thanked God greatly, he and the rest of the barons and knights, for the favour I had done them; they well knew how I had endowed them, and how they ought to serve and aid me; but they begged

[1] Obscure. "E que se aturas-
"sen un any ab nos aquells qui
"haviem heretats, e de un any a
"enant que porien tornar a lur
"terra, e fer lurs feynes, e ven-
"dre ço que havien lla per venir
"açi: e que nos la tendriem men-
"tre ells serien lla tro a un termin
"couvinent."

of me that I would graciously listen to their prayer. And this was what Don Fernando and they prayed: that while I asked the three hundred and eighty knights to stay there, at Valencia, in my service—which was a just and proper demand on my part, and such as they could not deny in return for the "hereditaments" they had received in gift—that I should grant them, as a great favour, that only one hundred knights should serve me at a time during four months, so that the three hundred should take their turn in rotation. And that I should be content with thus much from them; if I should do them that favour, they would take it as if I had given them "hereditaments," and as if I had done them the greatest boon a lord could do his vassals.

CCXCIV.

When Don Fernando had done speaking, I answered him thus: "Don Fernando, will you and "the barons and knights be content with me, if "I grant you what you ask of me?" And they all said, "Yes, content"; and that they would deem it a great boon and a great grace. I said: "Then "take it for good and granted; in whichever way "you have set it forth I grant it you, that you "may know what a lord you have in me." They all rose, approached me, and kissed my hand for the grace I had done them.

CCXCV.

I then fitted out a galley in which to go to Montpellier, to ask them to give me aid towards the outlay I had made in conquering Valencia. I went there, and left in the country, to govern in my absence, En Astruch de Bellmunt, who was Master of the Temple, En Hugh de Fullalquier, Master of the Hospital, Don Berenguer de Entença, En Guillem d'Alagó, and Don Exemen Perez de Tarazona. About this time En Guillem de Alagó rose, with some knights, footmen, and "almugavars," and harried the Saracens, as well those who were already our subjects as those who were not. Rebollet, too, was besieged and taken by him. Whilst these things were I had gone to Montpellier. When I got to Lates [1] the consuls and chief men of Montpellier came out to meet me, full a hundred on horseback, and En Pere Bonifaci with them; he was at that time the most powerful man of the whole town. Don Pero Fernandes de Azagra and Don Assalit de Gudar kept close to me. En Pere Bonifaci said: "Leave the King to us, for it is long "since we saw him, and we ought to go next to "his person." Don Assalit then said to him, that they (he and Fernandes) were better entitled to

[1] Lattes, a small village seven kilometers from Montpellier. Its port, long since sanded, communicated then with the sea by means of a channel.

that place than either Don Pere Bonifaci or the others. En Pere Bonifaci replied that in my land they ought no doubt to go next to my person, but that since I had got to Montpellier they ought not to go beside me. I made sign to Don Assalit not to oppose Bonifaci, and Don Assalit saw very well that I bade him be silent. I seemed to take no heed of what was said, but I thought at the time that En Pere Bonifaci's pride was very great.

CCXCVI.

At that time this En Pere Bonifaci had the greatest power in the Consulate, together with En Grau [1] de la Barca, and En Berenguer de Reguardana,[2] who was a good clerk in Laws, and En Ramon Beseda.[3] I alighted at the house of En Atbran,[4] who was my bailli in the town: they bore him great enmity, and had planned in the Consulate that if I did not arrive immediately they would pull down his house. They had accordingly prepared a great hook on a pole,[5] and at the end of it a

[1] En Guerau, which I believe to be the same name as Gerard.

[2] Regordana, or Berenguer de Reguardan.

[3] Bessède.

[4] Thus in the text of 1557; the Spanish translators have Narbran; his real name was Atbrand V. Germain.—*Hist. de la Commune de Montpellier*, tom. i. p. 377.

[5] "E havien feyt un buyco, e "una perxa que havien ferrada al "cap primer, e anelles que havia "de ça e della hon se tinguessen "les cordes ab que derrocassen "les cases de Natbran."

beam armed with iron, and with rings on each side, to receive ropes, with which to pull down En Atbran's house, and those of any citizens who might stand by him. When I had taken up my quarters in En Atbran's house, about twenty citizens of Montpellier said they wished to speak privately with me. I went up on a terrace of En Atbran's house, which was open to the sky. En Pere Bonifaci stood up and said to me: "My lord, the "Consuls and part of the Council of Montpellier "have come here, and rejoice greatly at your "coming; now we wish to say thus much to you, "and I say it for them and for myself, that we "intend to honour you and keep you in our "hearts, as we should do to Our Lord. Now we "know that En Atbran makes you believe that he "can give you Montpellier; know that is not true, "for he has no power to do either wrong or right "in this town more than any other man living, "for in you alone lies the power and the possession, and but for us they would drive him out, "and those who would defend him, even from the "vilest sewer in the town. And what time we "have endured him we have done so for your sake, "for we have force of men and of arms and of "money; his power would be nothing to us. And "in that we pray you to believe us." After that En Grau (Guerau) de la Barca stood up, and spoke in the same way.

CCXCVII.

When they had spoken I answered them thus: "Barons and good men: the words you have just "spoken are words you should not have said to "me, for I do believe that you have my service at "heart. En Atbran has served me and serves me "as well as he can; he is your townsman and "one of honourable descent. If you desire to "act right, this is the way that you and he and "they who can, should take. Do you guard my "rights and my lordships, for that you are dearly "bound to me by the great native ties I have to "you and you to me, as well as by my lordships, "and because the town has increased since it was "Our Lord's will that it should come into my "power; and there should be no contest among "you, save as to who should serve me best. And "I should hold and esteem you as one should "hold his men and his countrymen." And thereupon they went away from me.

CCXCVIII.

I then sent for En Atbran and told him what had been said, so that he might not be moved or enraged. He thanked me much, and prized little their talk and their threats. He said that I should see the service he would do me thencefoward in

Montpellier. He spoke thus: "I will make the "*scales*[1] of Montpellier, the greater part, come to "you." I asked, "How is that?" He said, "I "have spoken to the Diggers, to the Tanners, and "to them of the Orgeria,[2] that they come with "torches to do you honour, and we will draw them "to our side little by little. When they keep your "gates, nothing will be in the hands of the others, "but I will act, and will put all into your hands, and "you can do as a king and as a lord, and revenge "yourself on them you wish revenge on, and who "want to take this town from you." I told him that he spoke right well, but that he should work gently and softly till I saw that the power was with me altogether.

CCXCIX.

In the evening, when I had supped and it was night, full five hundred of the diggers (*fossors*), of

[1] Scales were the seven quarters, or wards, into which Montpellier was then divided, the inhabitants of each having a certain corporate existence. The lord, at this time King James, appointed the chief judge or magistrate, the *batle* (bailli); he, his assessors, the under-*bailli*, the veguer, or judge of first instance, the notary. The town elected twelve *consuls*, who managed its regulation or police, and who were the council of the governor, who seems to have been an officer reigning but not governing; it is not clear what he could do without their concurrence. No tax could be raised but by consent of the town. See *Hist. du Languedoc*, lib. 20, c. 83.

[2] "Fossors, blanquers e aquells de la Orgeria." The Spanish translators render this last by *alfareros*—potters. What the *fossors*, diggers or excavators, were it is not clear to me. Great work on the fortifications was at this time on hand, and the French writers

the greatest and best among them, came with torches and candles, and said to me: "My lord, we "have come before you, and bid you welcome a "hundred thousand times. We have come to do "and to say as you command." On that En Atbran spoke, and said: "My lord, you have here a part of "the diggers, who represent all the rest of them; "were they all here there would be six or seven "thousand of them. Thus they speak, and I speak "it for them, for they have told me to say so. They "are all prepared to act for you as for their born "lord, in everything and for everything[1]; wherefore "I have come to tell it to you, that you may better "believe it." I answered him, that I thanked them greatly for their coming and for the good countenance they showed me, and that what they said I believed; that I had at heart to love them and do them good, and that for all time to come they would be of more esteem with me, for the good will they had towards me. Thereupon they departed very joyfully.

call them "serrassiers." As to Orgeria, from *Orge*, in Span. *cebada*, in Cat. and Val. *ordi*, that is, barley, it might mean the corporation or guild of the "dealers in barley"; but I prefer "the potters," or "alfareros," as in the Spanish version, though I must confess that I do not understand how *orger* and *orgeria* could be made to signify that; perhaps *orger*, or *orllers*, for *otllers* (*los olleros*), is the right reading after all.

[1] "E quant se guarden aquests vostres fauces;" very obscure, probably corrupt. The Spanish translators make it mean, "Cuando ellos "lo adviertan no estarán ya las "hoces en sus manos." I do not see how; but I am not sure that my version is right. The meaning of the whole passage is evidently that he, Atbran, would steal a march on his enemies.

CCC.

When they departed there came the tanners.[1] There were two hundred of them, with torches and with candles, and they told me that I was welcome to them a hundred thousand times, welcome as is the glorious Easter Day; and that they had come before me to do and to say what I wished, for their guild had never yet deserted the lord of Montpellier, and as now it was in more honour than ever it had been, good reason was it that they should serve me. Thereon En Atbran said: "My lord, I hold your "Grace's place in the town, inside and outside, when "you are not here; and I ask your favour for "the tanners, from whom in aid and in council I "always have what I ask for. Know that they "are yours, to do and to take your commands, and "they come here to offer it, that you may the better "believe them." I answered, that I gave them great thanks, and that I knew well the good will they showed me, and that as they had much at heart to serve me, so had I at heart to do them much good. And further, I thanked them for having helped so, and wishing me well in my concerns, for when they helped En Atbran they helped me.[2] So they and En Atbran went away. He

[1] Blanchers, or "courroyers," as they are called in French.

[2] "Que quant a vos aguden a nos aguden" are words addressed to En Atbran; but mistakes of this sort are frequent in the text.

sent word to others, who wished to come, that it was late, and that they should come next day to me; on which they stayed their coming.

CCCI.

At vespers, next day, came the *orgers* (potters),[1] with torches and candles; there were full two hundred of them, who came, like the others, to offer their service, and to say they were ready and prepared to do what I commanded, as good vassals should do to their lord. And thereon En Atbran said: "My lord, well can you see the great joy the "town of Montpellier has over you, and especially "those who love you. You can tell and order me "what you desire should be done, and they are ready "to fulfil your commandments. They do not want so "many lords, they have enough with you alone; and "they mean to show you that they mean to increase "and advance your lordships." I told them that I thanked them much for what En Atbran had said on their behalf, and that I always hoped this from them, that no one could do me hurt with their will in Montpellier. And since that was their will, with the power I had there I could do whatever I pleased and was of right, for I should do nothing but according to right; and I gave them great thanks for the good will they showed me.

[1] See above, p. 412, *note*.

CCCII.

When the "orgers" had gone they of the Alsunnaria (Saunerie)[1] came, and proffered me their hearts and their estates, and all they had in this world, and bade me welcome, and said that now could I put Montpellier right, if any one in it had done me wrong. When that speech was ended, En Atbran said: "My lord, now can "you avenge yourself if any one has done you "wrong in Montpellier, or done anything against "you." I answered: "En Atbran, you speak "well and gently; but this is at our heart, and "it is our will, that since you have such good "desire to preserve my rights, and it would grieve "you if any one did me wrong, so will I have "at heart to do according to right and reason "and with council of yourselves." So they departed, and I remained very glad and content with what I had seen and heard, and if I had not good prospect of keeping my lordship in Montpellier, it was not En Atbran's fault if I had not secured it.

CCCIII.

In the morning I went to the house of the Friars Preachers (Dominicans). When I came out from mass, I met five thousand men from the guilds

[1] The *Saunarie* was the quarter of the city where the salt granaries were kept.

above named and from others, and all with one voice cried out that whoever was in the wrong towards me in Montpellier, should now rue for it, and that I ought to set right what was wrong; that I should examine who in truth had done me wrong, and could now take amends of whoever had done it. I made them all be silent, and said that it was always my thought that they loved me greatly, but that now I wholly believed it, for I well knew the good will they bore me, and that for what I saw in them I should always be bound to love them, keep and defend them in all they possessed or might acquire; that they might depart, and from that time protect my rights and their own in Montpellier.

CCCIV.

Thereon I sent word to En Pere Bonifaci, En Guerau de la Barca, En Berenguer de Riguardana (Regordana), En Ramon Beseda (Bessède), and others of their party, to come to me next morning; but they, knowing the great movement among the people, and that they had come at night to me, took their goods out of their houses, put them into convents[1] and other places in the town, and never came to me. And on the morning of the third day from my entry into Montpellier, when they

[1] "En ordens."

should have come to me according to summons, and my porters had gone to their houses again to summon them, word came that they had gone. I made a proclamation that within a month they should all return to answer to me. In that month they did not return. I then seized all that I could find of their goods and "hereditaments," and with that very engine[1] they had made I pulled down the houses of those who had taken flight; that is, three or four of the houses of those who had made themselves most conspicuous as chiefs, for the others I left standing not to disfigure the town. Thus did I punish those who deserved it; and En Atbran and his supporters, as well as the consuls, councillors, and the *bailli* (governor), since I put them in office, or those whom they appointed, have maintained themselves there up to this time.

CCCV.

During my stay at Montpellier there came to me the Count of Toulouse and the Count of Provence;[2] and I had besides a great court of men of importance of those countries who came to see me. It was a year after the taking of

[1] "Aquell *buço* que elles avien feyt."

[2] The Count of Toulouse at this time was Raymond VII.; as to him of Provence his name was Remon, or Raymond, Berenguer, James's cousin, whose daughter Margaret was married to St. Louis on the 27th of May, 1234.

Valencia that I went to Montpellier. One Friday, between midday and nones, there was the greatest eclipse seen in the memory of men now living, for the moon covered the whole of the sun, and one could see seven stars in the sky. When I had ordered my affairs in Montpellier well, and to my advantage and honour, I fitted out the ship called *Montpellier*, which carried eighty oars, and went in her to Collioure, and thence by land to Valencia.

CCCVI.

When I was at Valencia I had great complaints from the Saracens, who had surrendered to me, saying that En Guillem d'Aguiló and the company of "almugavars" and footmen I left there had done them hurt and robbery. I sent for them; they would not come to me, but took flight, and went, some to the King of Castile, some to Aragon, and here and there. I sent for En Guillem d'Aguiló, and he said he would come if I gave him a safe-conduct. I gave him one, that I might hear why he and the others had done that mischief. He came before me, and I asked him why he had done that mischief? and said to him that he had not served me well according to the benefits I had conferred on him. He owned that he had done hurt to the Saracens, but did not consider by so doing that he had done me disservice. I

said: "Yes, you have done me disservice; for one "thing, in that you have done hurt to the Saracens; "for another, in that you have broken my com- "mandments; for the Saracens are living under "my faith, and you have broken my promise to "them." En Guillem went away, and I wished to seize what I had given him in Valencia, that is, Alguerres and Rascanga; but I found that he had pledged them to another person before he committed that misdeed; wherefore I could not seize them. He then sent me word to say that he would return to me as much as he could return. In this manner I recovered a few Saracen captives and part of the property and goods. I then spoke to the Saracens, and told them that I was sorry for the hurt done them; and I put back each into his farm; and they felt safe as long as I was in the country.

CCCVII.

When that was done, I went into the valley of Bayren, and parleyed with the Alcaid, who held the castle of Bayren, and with those of Villalon, Barre, Vilella, and Palma, all of which were castles on rocks, large and strong. I was told that as soon as the Alcaid of Bayren had treated with me, they in the valley would surrender. Zaen was still in Denia; I sent for him, and he said he would come. I sent him word to

go to the Rapita of Bayren ; he came in an armed galley, and I set up two tents there. He landed, and saw me in my tent. He told me that if I would give him Minorca to hold of me, he would surrender the castle of Alicante, which was then in his power, and could not be taken. I was to give him besides five thousand besants. I told him I would give him an answer when I had considered the matter. When it was vespers, this was the answer I made to him : That I thanked him greatly for the love and affection he professed to me, which well showed itself in the offer he had just made me, for certainly the castle of Alicante was of more value to me than to any other man. But he should not take it ill of me that I could not accept the bargain, for I had made agreements with the King of Castile, and we had divided the country to be conquered ; that was done in the times of my father and of the grandfather of the King of Castile ; and that castle was in his division ;[1] wherefore I would not break the existing treaties. And Zaen then said that I ought at least to acknowledge that he himself was no hindrance to the project ; he was not to blame if the offer was not accepted, and so he parted and went away.

[1] "Car nos hauiem conuinences "ab lo Rey de Castella, e hauiem "partides les terres, ja en temps "de nostre pare, et de son aui, e "aquell castell era en la sua par- "tida, porque la conuinença que "nos li hauiem feyte no la voliem "trencar."

CCCVIII.

Next day I parleyed with the Alcaid of Bayren, and told him that he might well know it was Our Lord's will that I should have the land. And since He willed it, he should not attempt to bring harm on me, nor on himself; cutting down the wheat and the trees was not a good thing, for the Moors after all would become my subjects, and I had at heart to do them good; they would remain for ever with me and my successors: that he could not hinder. As to him and his kindred, I would do so much for them that they could be for ever in honour and riches. The Alcaid said he gave me thanks; but that he held so good a castle that I knew very well that he would do a base thing if he surrendered it at once. I said to him: "Since you will not surrender the castle "at once, I ask you to give me sureties that you "will not fail to the agreement on the day on which "I shall fix with you." He asked what surety I required. I told him: "I want your eldest son." And as I had learnt the names of two nephews of his, I told him: "You will put them with your son, and that without delay." He said he would consider, and would answer the next day early, and I agreed to that.

CCCIX.

Next morning early he came to me, and made this answer. I was not (he said) to take it ill if he did not like to give his son or his nephews; but he would make oath, together with twenty of the best sheikhs of the Saracens within that castle, that he would keep his agreement. And I told him that I would at once consider his proposal. Then I said that I accepted the oath of twenty of the best men in the castle on condition of his at once putting me in possession of the Albarrana tower,[1] in pledge that he would surrender the castle to me, and should besides make his Saracens construct a "barbacana" round the tower. He begged that I would let him go away and consider that.

CCCX.

At vespers the Alcaid came again to me, and said that he agreed to the terms; he would give

[1] An Albarrana appears to have been an outwork detached from, and in advance of, the outer line of walls. Barbacana in Spain means a second outermost and lower wall; this the king wished to be added to the Albarrana, that he might isolate this last and defend the castle. In England, the word "barbican" had a different meaning. Albarrana, which I take to be from the Arabic بَرَّانة, *barrana*, with the article "al-barrana," means a tower detached from the outer wall, literally, one that looks towards, or stands against the country, for *barro* is "earth" and "land." A fine corn district in Extremadura is called to this day "Tierra de Barros," and in Old Castile is another that bears the name of "Tierra de Campos."

me the Albarrana (tower) as security, and he would order the "barbacana" to be constructed. I drew up a treaty, and it was appointed that within seven months from that date the Alcaid should surrender the castle. I was to give him three horses and enough fine woollen red cloth to dress fifty men, besides one dress for himself of scarlet cloth, and green ones for his nephews;[1] also that I should give to him and his nephews twenty "jovadas" of land, besides what they already possessed, making up to them what was wanting. So it was agreed, and he surrendered the tower, and I gave it in charge to Don Pelegrin de Trocillo,[2] till God should give me the castle. I promised him that he should hold the castle for me when I had got it from the Alcaid of Bayren, which was acceptable to him. Don Pelegrin willingly accepted, and saw that the barbacan was made as the Alcaid had promised to do.

CCCXI.

At the end of the seven months, Don Fernando, with those of Calatrava, Don Pedro Cornell, Don Artal de Alagó, and Don Rodrigo Liçana, went to besiege Villena, taking with them an "almajanech."

[1] "E vestir a l. homens de drap "vermeyll destam fort, e ell quel "vestissem de preset vermell, e "sos nebots de vert." Estam fort (*estambre?*); *preset* is a finer kind of cloth.

[2] Also called Datrosillo, or Palegrí de Trosillo.

They went thither by their own council; they had resolved on it when they themselves told me of it. I told them to go, and good luck be with them, and take the place if they could. They went there and besieged it, setting up a "fonevol" against the town. Don Pelegrin de Trocillo then came to me and said that in eight days would come that on which the Alcaid of Bayren was to surrender the castle; if I myself went to Cullera he would make the Alcaid come to me, if he could; and when he was with me, he trusted in God that the castle would surrender. When Don Pelegrin had said that, he went away directly, and I myself went to Cullera. I could not take many horses with me, for they were all gone to Villena, and I could only get together about thirty knights. When I was at Cullera, Don Pelegrin de Trocillo sent to say he had asked the Alcaid to come to me, and that he had agreed to do so. Don Pelegrin then went down from the tower, and the Alcaid from the castle; there went with Don Pelegrin about thirty men of my own train.[1]

CCCXII.

When they came to a fountain under the castle rock, the Alcaid asked Don Pelegrin to wait a little for him, as he would presently come down.

[1] Servents.

While Don Pelegrin waited he saw the Alcaid taking off his "almexia,"[1] and sitting in the fountain, and bathing and throwing the water over him. When he had bathed he sent word by a Saracen, who knew Latin, that fever had suddenly seized him, and that he could not go. When Don Pelegrin saw that, he took it for a bad sign, and he sent me a letter by a messenger, a porter or usher, of his, informing me of what the Alcaid had done. Don Pelegrin himself dared not to come to me, but he was getting in order. If the enemy were about to attack him, he would make two signal fires, by which I might know that the Moors showed fight; should they not show fight he would make only one fire. That was the day on which he had promised to surrender the castle. When I had done supper, I went up on the terrace of the castle of Cullera. At sunset (it was in August), one signal fire was made from the tower, and immediately after it another.[2] I then knew from the letter sent me that the Moors would fight; directly I gave barley to the horses, and after midnight began with my suite to cross in the boat I had sent for. Then I again saw signals made from another boat at the mouth of the Stany de

[1] *Almexia*, from the Arabic المحشية, or المغشية, means *tegumentum capitis, seu corporis*, shirt. The Alcaid, therefore, was making his ablutions.

[2] "Faerem una alimara (almenara ?) e sempre de mantinent faeren ne altra."

la Marjal, which boat had come from Corvera, that there had been great rains, in consequence of which much water was coming down.[1] I saw plainly that I could not, on account of the rains, cross the great pool without wetting the saddles of the horses, which would have to swim; so I had the saddles stored in the boat; I and my suite went into it, and we crossed the water in turns, and held our horses by the reins, swimming them across, three or four at a time. So was that water crossed, but in doing so we had to delay at that place time enough to march half a league. I there left the boat and the rest of the company, told them to part and to come after me.

CCCXIII.

When I got farther I came to the Grau (strand), which comes from the valley of Alfandech.[2] I then bade one of my esquires to go in on horseback and try with his lance whether there was a ford;[3]

[1] "E pus que vim los signals "quens feu una barca a la gola "del stany de la marjal, que "venia de Corbera, que hauia "feytes grans pluies, e per les "grans pluies que hauia feytes "exia gran layque." *Lo stany de la marjal*, the pool formed by the marshy ground in the neighbourhood of Cullera.

[2] "Quant fom aenant trobam "aquell Grau que ix de la vall de "Alfandech." Literally, that strand or shore which stretches out of the valley, &c. Al-fandech is from the Arabic, حنديق, handech (hollow, ditch, valley).

[3] "E dixem a un scuder que "passas a cauall *en* una llança si "hi hauia guau;" literally, "And we "said to an esquire to pass [the "water] on a spear [to see] whether "there was a ford," yet, to translate the passage as I have done, *ab* ought to be substituted for *en*.

he found no ford; whoever had to cross would have to swim the length of a knight's spear; and besides that, there was no boat to be had. I said, "Let "us cross, and good luck be with us, for the "thing has to be done anyhow." We got over that water as well as we could, as we had got over the other. We arrived in front of the castle of la Rapita, about nones; we had bread and wine and salt meat by sea, for fresh meat could not then be had. While we were there, Don Pelegrin came to me with one esquire only. I asked him what was the matter? and why had he made those signals? He said that they in the castle had sounded their trumpet[1] and made smoke signals to them in the villages to come in. "And I (said Don Pelegrin), seeing them come "in, made the two signal fires which you have "seen, meaning that the Moors of Xativa in- "tended to fight. I thought that when the Moors "saw those signals they would change their minds "and abstain from fighting." I said to Don Pelegrin: "Go to the castle and tell the Alcaid[2] that "I am here with my banner; he is to come down, "and I will parley with him." Thereupon Don

[1] "Los del castell faeren tocar "lo anafil e faeren fums als de "les alqueries." *Anfil*, from the Arabic نفير, is a trumpet.

[2] Caid, Cait, Alcaid, or Alcait, are all different forms of the Arabic word قايد, which means a chief, a captain, and also the warder of a castle.

Pelegrin[1] went to the castle, and told the Alcaid what I had said. The Alcaid answered that it was evening, and therefore begged me to allow him time till morning, when he would come to me. And I, seeing that it could not be otherwise, agreed to that.

CCCXIV.

When it was morning the Alcaid came to me, and I said to him, "Anencedrell,[2] you well know the "agreement you made with me, and the stipulation "by letters between you and me, and how I accepted "you for my vassal; wherefore I pray and command "you, in virtue of that agreement, that you sur- "render to me the castle of Bayren; I will perform "that which I promised to you and to your "relations." He said: "I will send for the sheikhs "of the town and of the villages in the neighbour- "hood, and I will appear before you; do you "prepare for me the charter deeds I asked you for, "and I will sign them; that being done I will

[1] The name of this knight, En Pelegrí de Atrocillo, or Datrosillo, is frequently spelt *Palegrin*, and *Pellegrin*, p. 424, *note*.

[2] "E dixem li: 'Anencedrell, ben sabets vos,'" &c. Anencedrell does not seem to me to be an Arabic name, and yet the two copies of this *Chronicle* preserved in Barcelona are said to afford the same reading. Ibn, or Ebn, which in that language means son, is generally turned by the Spaniards and Portuguese into *Aben; b* is often changed into *u* or *v* (indeed, the pronunciation of those letters has always been the same), and therefore the right name of the governor of Xativa might be Auen Cedrell.

"surrender the castle, and after that you will have "the whole of the valley, for no castle will dare "resist, or rise against you." When it was vespers the Alcaid came out with full twenty Saracens, the most honourable of those in the castle and in the valley ; they drew out their conditions according as had been stipulated, and I granted them what was reasonable, and something more, that I might enter into so good a place as the castle of Bayren. When the charters had been drawn out, I delivered them in due form, and it was settled with them that next morning they should surrender the castle. I rose early, heard mass, and stationed myself near the town and castle. The Alcaid then came before me ; he, his son, and his relations, and I set my banner with armed men in the castle, which was surrendered well and peaceably. When I had furnished it with arms and provisions, I gave it in charge to Don Pelegrin de Trocillo to hold it for me as agreed, and I returned to Cullera.

CCCXV.

At Cullera I heard news of Don Fernando and of the knights of Calatrava with him ; they had raised the siege of Villena, for those of that place had made a sortie against the "fonevol," in guard of which Don Pedro Cornell was, and had killed two of his knights, the siege having been raised in

consequence. Then they all came back to me, and returned to Aragon. After this the Commander of Alcanys,[1] with the knights brethren (frares) of his Order, and the almugavars, made a "bastida" at Villena; and they remained there before it. The people of Villena then came to me, and said that if I desired them, they would surrender Villena to the Commander; I desired them to do so, and they immediately surrendered it to the knights brethren of his Order.

CCCXVI.

Presently I had to leave the kingdom of Valencia and go to Catalonia, and afterwards to Aragon, leaving in the conquered country Pedro Liçana as governor-in-chief. When in Aragon I heard that in one of the raids which a cousin of his named Pedro de Alcalá had made against Xativa, the Moors had lain in ambush for him on the side from the coast, and defeated him, taking Don Pedro de Alcalá and five more knights prisoners. After that En Berenguer de Entença left Xativa to make a raid on the Cabanes de Teruel; he passed between Ribarroja and Manizes, and Don Rodrigo Liçana, the Master of the Hospital, and those of Valencia, dared not go against him. En Berenguer

[1] Alcañiz in Aragon is a commandery of the Order of Calatrava.

accomplished his raid, as the others dared not attack him, not venturing to cross the dry bed of a river that passes by Torrente and Catarroja.[1]

CCCXVII.

This news I heard in Aragon and knew that it was going ill with the Moors of the kingdom of Valencia, for they dared not go out of that city for fear of the raids that my people were making, and that there was great evil in all that. I went thither myself, and housed in Altura, which they had surrendered to me. The Archbishop of Tarragona, Mestre Pedro de Albalat, then came to me, and with him Don Rodrigo Liçana; they gave me good welcome, saying there was great need of my presence, and that I had come at

[1] "Son cosí de Don Rodrigo "Liçana, per nom Pere Dalcalá, "qui dona salt als Moros de "Xativa per un descenden de la "costa los Moros donaren li salt "als pujent (?) de la costa, e ven- "ceren los Moros," &c. The whole of this passage and what follows is exceedingly obscure. "E puix "anassen en Barenguer Dentença "de Xativa á correr a les Cabanes "de Terol e passa entre Ribarroja "e Manizes," &c. If Xativa had not yet surrendered, how could En Berenguer leave it to make a raid? It is only by supposing, as Zurita does, that Don Berenguer was at this time serving under the Moorish governor of Xativa that the words of the Chronicler can be explained. Indeed that historian (*Anales de Aragon*, lib. iii. c. 37) says:

"At this time Don Berenguer "de Entença had left the king's "service, and taken refuge in "Xativa; thence he made a raid "on Cabañas de Teruel; he passed "between Ribarroja and Manizes "without Don Rodrigo de Liçana, "the Master of the Hospital, and "those of Valencia daring to "attack him, as they disliked to "cross the dry river that passes "by Torrente and Catarroja in "order to get at him."

the right time. I told them: "I am very glad that it is so." There were with me at the time only twenty-five knights. When I reached Murviedro, Don Rodrigo spoke with me, and said before the Archbishop, that his cousin and his company had gone in a foray towards Xativa and that he and five other knights had been taken prisoners; he prayed me to rescue them, since I could do it. I asked, how? and he said, "If you "only go out of Valencia and lead your army "against Xativa, and make a semblance of ravag- "ing their lands, the Moors will at once give up "my cousin and the knights." I told him that I would willingly do it; I had come for that very purpose, and that what good I could do him, I would.

CCCXVIII.

I called together my army, and went to the ford of Barraga, and there waited a day for the army to join. The Kaid[1] of Xativa knowing that I was coming against him, sent to me Ibn Ferri, who had been at Liria, and was then with him.[2] He said he wondered that I should act thus, as it was his desire and will to do all he could for me in reason; but that my men had broken the truce that I had made with him. If he had done wrong to me

[1] "E envians a Ben Ferrí qui era stat de Lyria, e era ab ell."
[2] "E anassen a Beni Ferri"(?).

and mine it was for that reason, and in his own defence. My answer was: "If any wrong has "been done to you it shall be made good; but I "desire you at once to surrender to me Don Pedro "Alcalá with the other knights, for certainly I will "not suffer that; unless my request is immediately "complied with I will do you damage, and ravage "your territory." Upon which Ibn Ferri went away. At vespers of the same day, I said to Don Rodrigo Liçana: "Don Rodrigo, let me have some thirty "knights who have not yet seen Xativa, and "wish to see it, and let us go to that peaked hill "near the castle." When we arrived at the top of it, we had the finest prospect that could be imagined; we saw the most beautiful garden (horta) round the town and castle; there were more than too hundred flat-roofed cottages in it, the finest that man could devise, and several pretty villages (*alqueries*) besides, thickly set all round. I saw too the noble castle surrounded by most beautiful gardens. Great was my joy at such glorious sight; I thought that not for Pedro Alcalá alone would I come against Xativa with my host, but to gain that castle for Christendom, and that God should be served thereby. But this I would not say to Don Rodrigo.

CCCXIX.

Next day Ibn Ferri came to me and said: "My lord, the Kaid would give you the prisoners "willingly, but he cannot, for the Moor who has "bought them keeps them by him and asks for "such a price that the Kaid has no money withal to "ransom them." This answer of Ibn Ferri pleased me much, but I made no immediate reply, for in reality I thought more of getting Xativa than of the knights who were prisoners there, and I sent the Moor away. I then told Don Rodrigo Liçana: "The Kaid has sent me word, that he cannot "surrender Don Pedro Alcalá and the others "because he has not withal to redeem them." All the time, as I said before, I thought more of getting the castle than the knights themselves.

CCCXX.

Meantime I went to lay siege to the castle in the plain. When that was done, Don Rodrigo Liçana, with two knights, went with me, and we examined the Puig (hill) to see if it was a good place to set our camp in. We found a small spring in it, and Don Rodrigo said that that was but little water for the host. I told him, "You are right." I then sent word to En Beltran de Hones

to go up to the Puig Scardeyno [1] with three knights and nine esquires; he went up, and said that we could nowise pitch tents there, as nothing but goats could dwell in the spot. I then went up another hill, and none of the three would satisfy me. I saw a hill besides that was a very steep one; I sought for one lower, and nearer to the water; but none of those hills would suit me. I ate, and returned to the camp.

CCCXXI.

When I had eaten my dinner, I again sent for Don Rodrigo Liçana, and said to him: "Don "Rodrigo, let us hear mass early to-morrow; I "have seen in the distance a hill that I think will be "good for our purpose; we can construct a 'bastida' "(intrenchment) upon it." Next morning after mass we saddled; while saddling and getting under arms, Aben Ferri came again, and said, before my interpreter only,[2] that if I promised not to ravage the country they would give up the prisoners. I told him to go his ways; he had delayed so long that now I would no longer agree to that. I, however, told Don Rodrigo Liçana that the Alcaid of Xativa would not surrender the prisoners, and so concealed the truth from him. I thought that it

[1] Puig Stardeyno?

[2] Torchmany (in Spanish "truchiman") means "interpreter" It comes from the Arabic ترجمان, *turdjiman*, which has the same meaning.

was better for me that the knights should remain in prison, and that in that way I should get Xativa, since God had given me power of taking it. Thereon I went to the hill, but found that I was deceived by appearances, for, although it was steep on the side from which I had seen it, on the opposite side it was perfectly flat, and could easily be ascended. God, however, showed me a small village at the foot of the hill, a strong position, with the water of a river at the foot of it, such as was needed. Here were our intrenchments made, from which we ravaged their lands and destroyed their dams and their mills. These once broken, the Moors did not repair them. The farm (*alquería*) was called Sallent; it was near a river that passes by Ana, and is further increased by the water that comes from the spring of Ana. I afterwards learned from prisoners we made, that great harm had been done by cutting the water-courses (*cequies*), and destroying the mills. I, who knew what a great evil it was for the town, so populated as Xativa was, to take away their water, tried to cut off the streams and "cequies" (water-courses) wherewith they watered their lands and worked the mills; but I could not entirely succeed, for I had few men with me; the place was confined, and a good number of workmen was needed for the task.

CCCXXII.

The Kaid then sent to us a Moor named Sexi, a very powerful man in the town, and one of the Kaid's own council. He sent him to ask why I did him such harm, since he was ready to give me Don Pedro de Alcalá and the other knights. I made him the same answer I had made to Aben Ferri, namely: That since at the beginning when I asked for them he did not give his prisoners up, now I would rather take Xativa itself than the knights. When the messenger heard that said, he went back in great fear: and they of the host went on making raids against the castles about Xativa.

CCCXXIII.

One morning, as I was going down to my quarters, which were at the foot of the hill near the village, I saw, among others, a tent that had come from over the sea.[1] I had lent it to Don Garcia Romeu, who was then with me with a hundred knights, for which service I paid him in honour-lands and money. This Garcia was a son of Don Guillem Romeu, who was a good man in my father's time. While I was going down, Berto Squierdo, an "adalil," having had words with

[1] Said by the Spanish translators to be a present from the Sultan (Soldan) of Egypt, who, fearing lest Don Jayme should join in the crusade against him, wished to propitiate him.

a man, struck him with a knife in my very presence, and went hurriedly into the tent I had given to Don Garcia Romeu. I sprang after him, as he was going into the tent, seized him by the hair, and dragged him out. Don Garcia was not in the tent at the time, nor was there any one inside. I gave him over to the porters to keep him; if the other man should die, he was to be punished for it; if he did not die, they were to release him.

CCCXXIV.

Thereupon came to me two knights of Don Garcia Romeu, one named Guillem de Vera, and another; they said they were sent on behalf of En Garcia, who wondered greatly at me, who instead of showing him honour for having come to do me service had done him harm; he did not look to receive such great shame for the service he did me. I asked them what shame it was I had done to Don Garcia, that he should send a message couched in such strong words? They said: "My lord, we will tell you. You know well "that if ever a man, after committing a crime, gets "into the house of a knight, he is to be secure, "especially in the house of Don Garcia Romeu, "who is one of your barons (*rich-homens*) and a very "honourable one." I said: "Has Don Garcia any

other complaint against me, except this?" They said: "No; but he holds that to be a very great one, and so do we." I then said: "God be praised "that he has no other complaint against me but "that! In the present instance he is quite wrong; "for certainly the houses of my barons are not "churches, out of which those who wound or kill "men cannot be taken. Moreover, it was not "En Garcia Romeu's house, but a tent I had "lent him. I did not do him such an unseemly "thing that he should take ill of me; I saw a "man strike another with a knife in my very "presence, I seized him, and caused justice to be "done to him and to those who are here with me. "Farther, in taking the man out of my own tent, "I did not deem I did any wrong. And tell him "(Don Garcia Romeu) from me, that as I have "treated him well, and have called him with dis-"tinction to my service, I beg him not to seek "pretexts against me, especially at this time, "when I am engaged in so fair and honourable an "enterprise as the siege of Xativa. In this affair I "beg him to do what it is his duty to do, otherwise "he will err very grievously against me and against "himself; for no man should seek pretexts against "his lord or friend for quarrelling with him, above "all, if he is not in the right. If Don Garcia will "not assent to this, tell him from me that I will "speak with him face to face." Upon which they

departed ; but neither for messengers I sent to Don Garcia, nor for what I myself did tell him afterwards, would he abandon his displeasure against me.

CCCXXV.

Now, one good morning, Sexi and Aben Ferri said privately to the Alfaqui, whose name was Don Bahiel Rey,[1] "Why is the King so bent on this, of taking "Xativa from the Kaid? We could have on our "side the best part of the King's retainers if we "chose." The Alfaqui said: "On my faith, you should say who they are." "By our law," said they, "we could, if we chose, have Don Garcia "Romeu and his train, who would make the balance "turn against the King." The Alfaqui then inquired: "Could you prove that, that it is so?" They said: "Yes, we could prove it; and we will "tell you how. Let the King give us a man in "disguise, and when he (Don Garcia) shall come "to speak with the Kaid, or with us, as to deserting "the King's banner, the man can see and hear him; "no man would come on such business against his

[1] Elsewhere, "Bafiel, the brother of Salamó" (another Jew at the court of James). As to the title of *Alfaqui*, here given to Bafiel, I very much doubt of its being properly applied, inasmuch as فقيه, in Arabic, means a clerk well versed in the *fikh* or *Juris ac rerum Mohammedicarum scientia*, which appellation cannot be adequately given to a Jewish doctor or "rabbi." As to Sexí, I believe it to be a patronymic from *Saix*, a town in the kingdom of Murcia.

"lord's wish, unless he intended treason.[1] If you "wish, we will put the man behind a curtain, or "in a hiding-place, and he will hear what passes "between Don Garcia and us; then the King will "know that we speak the truth." The Alfaqui, however, brought Sexi and Aben Ferri before me, and said: "Repeat what you said, on the faith "you owe to God and to us; let them say to "you (the king) what they said to me." I asked them what it was, and they repeated what they had said to the Alfaqui. By that I learned the great treachery Don Garcia intended to do me. I said that I cared little about it; it was indifferent to me whether he was with me or with the people of Xativa. And I left them to suppose I was little concerned about it.[2]

CCCXXVI.

I however told the Alfaqui in private, and without the others hearing me: "These Moors ought to "say what the Kaid wants; if his terms are such "that I can accept of them, let me hear of them; "if they are not, tell them that I do not intend to "depart hence till he gives me one of the two castles

[1] "Don nos lo Ray un hom en-"cubert, e quant ell venra parlar "ab Lalcayt, e ab nos al exir "poral hom veer, que nul hom "no hi vendria menys de volentat "de lur senyor."

[2] "E dixem los queu preauem "ben poch, que aytant preauem "que si fos dins com de fora. E "partim nos dells en semblança "queu preauem poch."

" which he holds, either that of Xativa or that of " Castellon." They said they would go to the Kaid, and urge on him to make a treaty with me; and so they departed.

CCCXXVII.

Next day, Sexi and Aben Ferri came back, and told me that the Alcaid was ready to surrender Castellon, and at once acknowledge me as its lord; and that if he had to give up Xativa also, he would certainly surrender it to no one but to me. So I made treaty with him, and on the third day he gave up Castellon, and I got back Don Pedro Alcalá and the four knights who had been taken prisoners with him in Don Rodrigo Liçana's unfortunate raid. I told them that the Kaid should come out to me with the hundred chief men of the town, and accept me for lord; moreover that he should never surrender the place to any one, in case he gave it up, except to myself. All were present at that ceremony; seats for which had been got ready in the tent I gave to the Bishop of Valencia, En Andreu, who was a Dominican friar, and afterwards Bishop; and that was the beginning of the compact between me and the people of Xativa.

CCCXXVIII.

That done, I went to Aragon, and stayed there and in Catalonia full a year and more.[1] Exemen Peris of Tarazona, remained [governor] in Valencia for me. When I had been a year or more in Aragon and Catalonia, I returned to Valencia, because I wished to finish what I had begun there, and have the whole of the kingdom, as I afterwards had it up to the Xucar.

CCCXXIX.

On my return, the Rais[2] of Algezira (Alcira) suddenly left the town for fear of me; he left with thirty knights and went to Murcia, so that the power and dominion of the town remained with the Saracens.[3] Thereupon a message came from the inhabitants to say that Algezira was a good town and honourable, one among the best in the kingdom of Valencia, and that if I wished they would come to an agreement with me, provided I would leave

[1] Zurita, the historian (*Anales*, iii. c. 41, 42), gives no account whatever of the many quarrels of James with his family and with his nobles that filled up this year both in Aragon and in Catalonia.

[2] It has already been said that *rais*, *rays* (in Spanish *arraez*), are from the Arabic رايس meaning a "chief." As to Algezira, جزيرة, it simply means "the island," and such is the modern Alcira, situated between two arms of the Xucar.

[3] This would imply that the rais or governor of Alcira was an African, perhaps an Almohade, whose dynasty ruled at Valencia till the conquest.

them in the town. This proposal pleased me greatly. My answer was that I would willingly receive them into my grace, and leave them in the town, on condition, however, of their delivering up the towers of the gate looking towards Valencia. They said they would consider it and give a reply. I asked when the reply would be, and they said on the third day, at which I was much pleased.

CCCXXX.

On the third day there came to me at Valencia some of the leading sheikhs of the town, four of them, on behalf of all the others. They told me they were willing to surrender the great tower, near the bridge of the "calzada" (highway), which was the tower of the gate I had asked for. I told them that it pleased me to see that they too accommodated themselves to my requirements, and that I would thereby love them and treat them well. They made treaty with me that they should remain in Algezira with the same customs as in the time of the Almohades; that they could have service in the mosques as they were wont, and that every captive (Moor) who might escape to Algezira should be free, and that I could not take him, nor any one for me. And they appointed the fifth day from that for me to take possession of the town. I told them that I would be there on that day, and that

they should have all the sheikhs and the other people outside the place, to swear fealty to me, and promise to be loyal to me and to mine.

CCCXXXI.

I came accordingly on that day; all the sheikhs of Algezira came out and swore on their Koran that they would be good and true to guard me, life and limb, as well as the men whom I should leave to garrison the place on my behalf. And when I had possession of that tower I asked them to give me as far as the third tower, and that I would build up a wall to divide the Christians and the Saracens, so that the people of each nationality and creed could live separate by themselves. I would have a postern made leading to the "calzada" (highway) as a way into the town, that they might not say that the Christians did them harm. They said they could not give me an answer without consulting the other Moors, and that within five days they would give an answer. I begged some of the chief Saracens to consult about it. They replied that they would act in a wise that I should be content.

CCCXXXII.

When the day came they answered that they agreed, and that they granted me to put up a wall between me and them. So was the castle enclosed

and fortified. In this manner did I get possession of Algezira (Alcira), and from that day received the same revenues which the Rais, who was the lord of it, used to receive.

CCCXXXIII.

After a year and four months, the Moors whom the Kaid of Xativa had in his lordship, and those of Tous, Terrabona, and Carcel, fell on a cavalcade[1] of certain almogavars, returning from a raid under Don Rodrigo Liçana. The raid had not been against the Moors under the Kaid of Xativa, but against other Moors who warred in his lordship; but his men and the horse of Xativa coming suddenly upon it took away their mules and five or six baggage horses, and killed besides two war-horses. Thereon Don Rodrigo Liçana sent me word of the mishap that had befallen him through the Kaid of Xativa and his power. When I learned that, it pleased me for this reason: the Kaid had broken the agreement he had with me, and so I had cause to go against him at Xativa. On hearing of it I went from Aragon, where I then was, to Valencia, and from Valencia to Algezira (Alcira).[2]

[1] *Cavalgada*, which is evidently derived from "caballus, cavallo, cavalgar," &c., cannot be here translated by "cavalcade" but by foray, the "almogavars" being soldiers on foot.

[2] See Zurita, *Anales*, iii. c. 42, 43, for what was done in this year and a half.

CCCXXXIV.

Arrived there, I sent word to the Kaid of Xativa that I wished to see him, and that he should come to me. I was quartered within the town in my own palace, and the Kaid came there. I would not speak with him on the day he came, that he might have time to see and consider well on the great force I had there round me. Early next day he came to me, and said he had come at my bidding, and in consequence of the letter I had sent to him, and that he was ready to hear what I wished to say. I told him: "Kaid, I sent for you for this reason, "that your Moors and your power, the knights "you have in your pay, have done me wrong, and "have attacked and defeated a company belonging "to the force in charge of Valencia. You know "well the agreement between you and me; the "charters are divided by A, B, C; you have one "part and I the other.[1] And according to what "is contained in them, you have broken the agree- "ment you made with me. Not only in that have

[1] A, B, C. During the middle ages two copies of the same deed were written on a sheet of parchment perpendicularly, and separated only by a scroll containing three or more letters of the alphabet, according to the size of the parchment; when divided or cut asunder for each contracting party to take his part, the identity of the deed could be proved, even to the illiterate, by showing that their separated edges fitted one into another, and reproduced the perfect letters.

"those men of yours, and those you have in your "pay, done me wrong; but they have offended "me in two or three other things, for they have "slain men of mine, who would not otherwise "have died. Wherefore that agreement and truce "you have with me, it is not seemly that I shall "be held by it, since you yourself have broken "it; and whereas I already possess the greater "part of the kingdom of Valencia, and Xativa "belongs to this kingdom, I wish to take it. "And as it is you who hold it, I bid you to sur- "render it to me immediately."

CCCXXXV.

When the Kaid heard that, he lost colour, and thought himself a prisoner: he pondered, and could not answer for the great fear he was in. I said to him: "Kaid, be not afraid; you are as safe here "as if you were in the castle of Xativa. I do not "want you to give me an answer here, but go back "and consult with your sheikhs and with whomsoever "you choose. When you have taken counsel, either "come to me again or send me your answer in "writing; for my resolve is that no one who comes "to me shall be arrested, be his offence what it "may; but if you will not settle it so with me, be "sure that I will demand it of you in such wise "that you will be compelled to do what I now ask

"of you; it is better to do it with a good grace "and will than to be forced into it." Thereupon he and the other Moors kissed my hand, he the first, and said they well knew the good faith and honour that was in me. So they went to dine, and stayed all that day. I desired them before they left to fix a day for their answer to come. They said that what I demanded was so great a thing that they needed eight days, and asked me to allow them those; after eight days the Kaid would come or send a message to me. I granted them. The next day they went to Xativa, and I to Castellon, taking with me the Queen, my uncle Don Fernando, and other barons.

CCCXXXVI.

When the eighth day came the Kaid sent to me a learned Moor, whose name was Almofarix,[1] the most learned man in all Xativa, and one of the greatest; another Moor came with him. I had with me Don Fernando and the other barons who were in the town, and I told the Saracen to deliver his message. He rose and said: "My lord, the "Kaid and the other sheikhs of Xativa greet you "well. On the day you bade them to come before

[1] *Almofarix* in the edition of 1557; in that of Barcelona *Almofoys*, neither of which seems to be an Arabic name. المفارس, *Almofaris* (the horseman) would be by far a better reading, unless المشارف (*Al-moxárif*), or المخارف (*Al-mokhárif*), be meant, which are likewise proper names, or rather appellatives.

"you they make you this answer. The harm of "which you complain they did not do, but for the "reason that the Christians took away what was "the Kaid of Xativa's, as well as what was of those "who raised the war-cry. On summons made they "had to make a sortie, and took back what they "had lost, and did no other harm. And the Kaid's "answer respecting the castle of Xativa is this— "that you well know what the castle of Xativa is; "there is none better in all Andalusia;[1] and that "both Moors and Christians would hold him for "a coward and a villain if he were for so little "cause to surrender it to you. Though the Kaid "and the Moors are not of your faith, they would "fear your scorn too, if they did what would be base "of them. They pray, therefore, that you do not "wish them to do it." And then he sat down.

CCCXXXVII.

Without any previous consultation I made the following answer: "Almofarix, you are a learned "man,[2] as appears by two things—by your repute, "and by stating your case so well. But if in the "things that in this world are debated by many, "or by party to party, there were no way of

[1] There is no need of remarking that Xativa is not in Andalusia, but in Valencia. Perhaps the interpreter hearing the word Andalos, انْدَلس, in Arabic, which means "Spain," translated "Andalucia."

[2] "E dixem li: Almofarix, uos sots saui hom."

"deciding which side was right, nothing would "come to an end. The Kaid is my vassal; he "became such a vassal when he made treaty with "me in my camp near the town, and he engaged "to guard me and defend me and mine. Since he "is my vassal, he ought to submit to justice at my "hands, and take a judge from me. I give him "for judge Don Fernando, who is one of the truest "men in all Spain by descent and nobility. If he "say that I ask what is just, let the Kaid agree "to it; if he say it is not, I will withdraw at "once the demand I made. What talk I might "have with you on behalf of the Kaid would be "of no avail without a judge to decide; and that "judge from this moment I give you."

CCCXXXVIII.

To that the Almofarix said that it was not the will of the Kaid and of the sheikhs that the matter should be submitted to a judge; but that he would go back, and, after consultation, would make me an answer. I asked when that would be ready; he said, on the third day after this. I easily granted him that delay, for I did not wish to oppose him, and saw that what he asked was reasonable. The Almofarix accordingly went away, and on the third day returned, and made answer before Don Fernando and the rest of my court. He said that it was not

at all a case for a judge to decide, but that if I stated what my wishes were, I would get an answer. I deliberated, and said to Don Fernando: "Almo-
"farix speaks ill. In every question raised by lord
"against vassal, or by one man against another, there
"should be a judge, especially if the one do not
"admit the other's claim; and the judge should have
"security from the parties that his judgment shall
"be performed. To you, who are the Kaid's mes-
"senger, I reply, that if the Kaid will accept Don
"Fernando for judge, and give security that what
"I may gain by the judgment I shall get, I will
"be satisfied." He then said that he could not say or do more than what he had been ordered. Thereupon I called to witness the barons and the citizens of Valencia, who were there with me, that the Kaid would not accept a judge from me nor give security that he would submit to the award of the judge I appointed. When I had thus called them to witness, the Almofarix mounted, and went his way; and from that time forward there was war between the Kaid of Xativa and myself.

CCCXXXIX.

Thereupon I summoned the knights of the kingdom of Valencia, and those of my own train (*mesnada*), and the Almugavars, and went with the barons to besiege Xativa. I pitched my tent

in the Garden plain (*orta*), beside the river. On the other side, where a ravine comes down, I raised a wall, and so the camp was inclosed. While I was in the camp many were the skirmishes with the Moors of Xativa. There was inside the town a relative of the Bishop of Cuenca, a native of that city, who had told me before I went to the siege [of Xativa] that the Infante Don Alfonso wanted a tent made there, and for reason of that tent, while they were making it, a parley went on between the Kaid of Xativa and the then Infante, King Alfonso who now is.[1] I saw plainly that the making of the tent was nothing but a stratagem that the Kaid of Xativa might have an interview or treat with the Infante Don Alfonso, and that the tent was being made merely for the sake of concealing what they were about. When the man of Cuenca knew that I was besieging Xativa, he himself came there, with the Bishop's privity, that he might be where he could communicate with those in the town, tell them that Don Alfonso was coming, and that they ought to treat with him in preference. Wherefore I suspected what was being done, and knew that the making of the tent was only a stratagem through which I might perchance lose Xativa.

[1] Alfonso X., called "El Sabio" (the Learned).

CCCXL.

I therefore caused to be proclaimed throughout the camp that any one found to hold intercourse with the Moors of Xativa, unless he asked my leave first, should at once be arrested and brought before me. One day the Moors made a sortie against those of the army who were ravaging their lands and foraging; the cry to arms was raised; my men went out against them, under the command of Don Pedro Lobera, and in the skirmish that ensued, the man from Cuenca, who was actually parleying with the Moors, fell into the hands of my people. In virtue of my proclamation that any one who parleyed with the Moors without my leave should be taken prisoner, Pedro Lobera went up to the man, and told him he should come to me. The man of Cuenca said: "Why do you want to take "me to the king?" "Because the king forbade "any one to parley with the Moors, and you "have been parleying. I want to know if the "king ordered you to do so or not." The man could not help himself, and he was brought by force into my presence. When he came before me, Don Pedro Lobera said: "My lord, this knight was parleying with the people of Xativa." The man did not deny that he had been parleying, but maintained that he had said nothing against me or the army. I asked him, "How long have you

been in the camp?" He answered, "Fifteen days." I then said: "If you have really been here fifteen "days, it is only eight days since a proclamation "was made that no one should dare parley with "the Moors unless he asked for my leave; you "did not apply for it, then why did you parley "with them?" He said he had not parleyed with them to my hurt. I replied: "Yes, you have; "you are the very man who brought letters from "the Bishop of Cuenca, and who wanted a tent "made for the Infante Don Alfonso, and on the "excuse of having that tent made have been at "Xativa treating with the Moors to my injury, "that they should surrender the town to him. "That I know for certain, through the Moors in "the town. You know very well the proclamation "I caused to be made, for all in the camp must "have heard it. And for what you have done "against me I will not trust you, but will punish "you so that any one who wishes to take Xativa "from me shall keep aloof for fear of the punish-"ment I am about to inflict on you." And thus I ordered the porters to seize him, let a priest confess him, and hang him on a tree.

CCCXLI.

A month after this news was brought to me, that Enguera and Muxent had surrendered to the

Infante Don Alfonso ; at which I wondered greatly that he should take anything in the dominion of Xativa, the conquest of which belonged by right to me ; the more so that we were already related and that my daughter was his wife.[1] In order to ascertain if the news was true I myself went to Enguera. I told the Saracens to surrender the town to me ; they said they had already surrendered it to the Infante Don Alfonso, and that his Kaid (governor) was already there. I then saw clearly that the report about the tent was perfectly true ; that if the Infante took any one of the castles attached to Xativa he would, if he could, take Xativa itself. I then sent for the knight in command of the place to come to me, and I asked him : "How are you here ?" He said to me, he was there on behalf of Don Pedro Nuñez de Guzman ; the Infante had given it in charge to Don Pedro Nuñez to hold for him. I said to him, "I did not think the "Infante would hold anything in the world that "belonged to my conquest."

CCCXLII.

Thereon I went away, and ordered light horsemen from the camp to do these people what hurt they could. Next day I myself laid an ambush for

[1] Early in life, in 1248, Prince Don Alfonso, afterwards Alfonso the Learned, not the Wise, had married Yoland, the daughter of James.

those of Enguera, and my men took seventeen of them. They were brought before me, and I bought them of them. Next day I went to Enguera, and told its people to surrender the town, for if they did not I would have all the seventeen executed, and would do the same with all those I could take, till the place was empty of men. But for all I said they would not surrender the castle; upon which, and in their very sight, I had half the men beheaded[1] and the other half hanged, and went back to my camp before Xativa.

CCCXLIII.

Fifteen days after this the Infante Don Alfonso sent me word that he wished to see me, and asked me to meet him at Algezira (Alcira). I sent him word that he had done me wrong, and that when he had repaired it in some manner I would willingly see him. Before his answer came, however, I arranged with a knight of Calatrava, who held Villena, that he should surrender to me both that town and Saix, and besides that I myself should get from the Moors Los Capdets and Bugarra.[2] When, therefore, the Infante

[1] "E a uista dels faem ne la "meytat escapsar, e laltra meytat "enforcar." "Escapsar" (in *Span.* "descabezar"), to take the head off.

[2] These places (Capdetz and Bugarra) appear to have been all within the limits of the "conquest" or district occupied by, or assigned to, Castile. In 1179 a treaty had been concluded between Ferdinand of Castile and James of Aragon drawing a line of demarcation for their respective conquests from the Moors.

came and wished to enter Villena and Saix, and the other two castles [Capdets and Bugarra], they would not receive him, because of their being held for me. The Infante then sent to beg me that I would come out to see him. I therefore left in the camp two hundred knights and what footmen there happened to be, and I myself went to see him, accompanied only by En Guillem de Moncada, the Master of the Hospital, Don Eximen Perez de Arenós, En Carrós, and part of my own train ; with the Infante Don Alfonso were the Master of the Temple and the Master of Uclés, and Don Diego de Viczaya, and other barons (*ricos homens*) of Castile and Galicia, whose names I do not recollect. The interview took place midways between Almizra[1] and Capdets, where the Infante had pitched his tents, I myself being quartered in the former place (Almizra). I had with me now a third more knights than there were with him ; and so we met. After our meeting he came to my camp to visit the Queen, my wife. I wished to give up to him the castle of Almizra and the town for his quarters, but he would not, and encamped outside at the foot of the hill of Almizra, where he had tents set up. There we had great rejoicing and love.

[1] Almizra, also in the kingdom of Murcia ; the Barcelona edition reads "Almura," perhaps a misprint for Almiçra.

CCCXLIV.

Then the Queen, my wife, came, for he had begged that I should let her come to the meeting, that the dispute between me and him, her son-in-law, should be settled. As soon as the Queen came the Infante came, all that day being spent in joy and mirth, for it was not well to speak of business on the very first day of our meeting.

CCCXLV.

Next day, after hearing mass, the Infante [1] came to see the Queen again. I asked him why he had sent for me to see him. The Master of Uclés and Don Diego de Vizcaya said on his behalf that the Infante had come for this reason: he had married my daughter,[2] and he believed I could not have married her better to any one in the world but himself (*sic*); he expected to have some piece of land with her in marriage, and I ought to give him Xativa, as I had once offered by Ovieco Garcia, who treated for their marriage. I told him that I would consider, and make answer. I consulted with the Queen, and with the barons, who were with me in the camp, and sent word to the king to send the Master and Don Diego, and that I would

[1] Don Alfonso, at the time Infante, but King of Castile when this *Chronicle* was written.

[2] Yoland, or Violante, as the Spanish chroniclers call her.

give them an answer. They came, and it was thus: That I and the Queen well knew that we had married our daughter well, and yet we had made no such promise to Ovieco Garcia or to any other man in the world, as to give her Xativa or any other place as marriage portion; that when I married his aunt, the Queen Doña Leonor,[1] they gave me neither land nor domain, house nor holding, with her. I do not believe that I should give more to any king with my daughter than he to me with his; he should not take it amiss if I would not give up Xativa to any one in the world, for it was mine and belonged to my conquest; he himself had abundance of land, and should not envy what I had; and I prayed that he would not find fault with me if I came to no other conclusion.

CCCXLVI.

The Master and Don Diego went away showing discontent, and returned to their camp. They came again at vespers, and said that what they had asserted they would prove by the testimony of Ovieco Garcia. I said to them: "I hold Ovieco "Garcia to be so good a knight that he will not "fail to tell the truth to me for the sake of Don

[1] Doña Leonor was no doubt Alfonso's grand-aunt, she being the sister of Berengaria, or Berenguela, Queen of Leon, James's grandmother; in February, 1221, she married James at Tarazona, in Aragon.

"Alfonso, his lord; yet according to law the evidence "of a vassal is not received against that of his lord; "this is a weighty matter, and I will not stake "Xativa on the word of a man who is a vassal "of the other party. I know what the truth of "the matter is, and God also does; the Infante "ought not to ask land with my daughter; other "great and good aids he might have from me to "his honour and profit; for if he ever needed a "thousand or two thousand knights he could have "them for his aid, with me at their head, and that "not once only, but twice, thrice, or ten times if "need were; but Xativa I will not give up one "way or other. Such an offer and my good will "are better than the other thing with ill will." So that night passed with those words between me and them. In short, I told them that I would not in any way do what they asked, and so they parted that very night from me.

CCCXLVII.

Next day they came back and said, "My lord, "it were well you gave Xativa to the Infante; if "you do not, he will get it, for the Kaid will cer- "tainly give it him." I said, "How is that? how will he get it? How can the Kaid give it him?" They answered, "Because the Kaid really wishes to give Xativa to the Prince." I said, "I have no

"fear of any one but myself getting it; the Kaid "will not dare surrender it to any one but me, nor "will any one dare to receive it from him, for Xativa "is mine, and whoever enters it must pass over my "body. You Castilians imagine that your threats "can make an impression upon me, but you are "much mistaken; I will wait and see what you "do; if you have anything else to say, say it at "once; otherwise our conference is at an end; know "that I shall go my way, you may do your worst."

CCCXLVIII.

Thereupon I ordered my horses to be saddled and the mules to be loaded; the Queen took to weeping, and said, "In an evil hour was I born, "since I came here to make it up between my "husband and my son-in-law, and I see them "separate on such bad terms!" The Infante was told that I meant to go away, and had ordered to saddle. When I had saddled, there came the Master of Uclés and Don Diego de Vizcaya and said to me: "King of Aragon, is it for your good to rage so greatly?" I answered: "There is no "man in the world, however temperate, but you "would put in a rage; you do everything with such "haughtiness and pride; you imagine that every- "thing you wish for should be immediately granted." They said to the Queen: "Lady, do you speak to

"your husband, and tell him not to depart while he "is in passion; we will go to Don Alfonso, and the "separation shall not be as now it is." The Queen, weeping, prayed me to consider, and not take to horse; she would go to Don Alfonso, and they would arrange matters to my satisfaction and his. I said: "Since you and they ask me, I will stay; "let the ambassadors go and return quickly with "their proposition." They went to the Infante Don Alfonso, and negotiated thus: he was to give up his demand for Xativa, and I was to divide the conquered lands between him and me, so as to separate completely the kingdoms of Murcia and Valencia. I was to surrender to him Villena, Saix, the Capdets and Bugarra, and he was to surrender to me Enguera and Muxent.

CCCXLIX.

This was the division of the lands; that the Infante should have Almansa, Sarazull, and the Cabriuol river; I was to have for my share Castalla, Biar, Releu, Sexona, Alarch, Fenestrat, Torres, Pelop in la Mola, near Agnes, Altea and Tormo, and that is inclosed within those boundaries. Thereupon sealed charters were made between me and the Infante Don Alfonso, and we parted good friends; each of us returning to the other what he held that was not his own. I then returned to

Xativa, and to the army, and stayed fully two months before it without the Kaid offering to capitulate.

CCCL.

At the end of two months the Kaid sent to me a Saracen named Albocacim[1]; I made every one leave my tent, and remained alone with him. When Albocacim saw there was no one there but us two, he said to me: "The Kaid of Xativa salutes you, "and commends himself to your favour, as to the "man on earth he has most at heart to love, serve, "and honour. He sends me to ask why you keep "besieging him, for you must be aware that his "father ordered him not to surrender the castle to "any man in the world, whether Christian or Sara-"cen, but to you, if he were to lose it. You ought not "to keep it besieged or do him, the Kaid, any harm, "for he is in fact holding the place for you, and "would do no one's will but yours." I replied that I knew by report the words which his father had delivered to him on his death-bed; but it had been God's will that I should become King of Valencia, and as Xativa was the noblest place in it except, perhaps, the capital itself, the Kaid ought to make it up to me, for I then could do him such good that he and his could live in honour. There was besides, I said, another argument in my favour, for

[1] ابو القاسم, Abu-l-Kásim.

the castle of Xativa was the key of the kingdom, and I could not be king of Valencia if Xativa were not mine. Wherefore I prayed him to consent, as otherwise I would never leave the place till I had it in my possession. Besides which, the money I would have to spend in taking the castle would be out of proportion to what he would have to spend in defending it; there would be consequently two losses, one to him and one to me: all which expense and loss might be saved and compensated by the love and kindness I would show him hereafter; he would be better off for what I intended to give him instead, and Xativa would be mine.

CCCLI.

"My lord," said Albocacim, "what do you wish "of the Kaid of Xativa?" I said, "Let him give "me the castle, and I will endow him and his "family." Albocacim replied: "How could he part "with such a castle as that of Xativa, which is so "good a place, without thinking first what he should "ask you for, and what he should not ask?" I said: "He will part with it to one who will be his "lord, and will henceforward protect him from evil, "and will give him ten times as much as his family "ever had." He said: "My lord, these words of "yours are of great weight, and if it please you, I "will return to the Kaid and repeat them to him."

I said: "It pleases me well that you should go and "say those my words to the Kaid; go, and work "well for me; you are the chief scribener[1] of "Xativa, and have great influence over the Kaid. "If you succeed, I will endow you well, and give "you more than ever you had in your life; you "know well that you cannot avert the fall of your "city."

CCCLII.

Thereon Albocacim went into Xativa, and next day he returned to me and said that it was not the Kaid's opinion that Xativa could be surrendered on any account. My answer was: "Since the Kaid "does not wish to give it to me, he must prepare "for the defence, for certainly I must have it, and "will stay here in this camp until I take it." Albocacim then prayed me to send Eximen de Toviá into the city, for that the Kaid wished to speak to him. "Eximen," he said, "should come with me "into Xativa, that he may witness the love and "affection the Kaid entertains for you." This was on a Wednesday, and Albocacim prayed us not to do anything against the city till the following Sunday, for the sheikhs (he said) would meet in the Mosque on Friday, and deliberate until Saturday;

[1] "Escriua major de Xativa"; but I should say that كاتب, cátib, —in *Spanish* Alcátib—is meant; *i.e.* writer, scribe, man versed in law, also a secretary.

[2] "La mesquita," from the Arabic, مسجد, *mesjid.*

for that reason he asked that the truce should last till Sunday. To this I agreed: but I will not enter into many details as to the parley, for it lasted a long while, and it would lengthen this book of mine beyond measure.

CCCLIII.

Next day there came to me Albocacim, Sexí,[1] Almofarix, and En Eximen de Toviá, to discuss with me the terms of the capitulation they had just made, and ask for my approval. Eximen de Toviá said: "My lord, the Kaid of Xativa lays before "you his whole mind, and opens his heart to you; "what these his delegates may do, you may con- "sider as secure as if he himself did it." The proposals were: that the Kaid should surrender immediately the lesser castle of Xativa, and keep the greater one for two years, to be counted from Pentecost next. I was to name what place of importance I would give him instead, for him to hold in fief of me. I then asked them what lordships suited the Kaid best. They asked for Montesa and for

[1] Sexí is the patronymic of Saix, or Sex, a town in the kingdom of Valencia. From the manner it is used in this passage it might be supposed that it formed part of the name of Abolcasim, or Abu-l-kásim, on account of his being a native of Saix; but the reading in the Barcelona edition agreeing entirely in this particular with that of 1557, and naming distinctly threé persons: *Abolcacim* e *Setxi*, e *Almofoys*, is not in favour of the above conjecture. I must add that Abu-l-cásim's name is sometimes written *Albocasim* in both editions, owing to the frequent transposition of the *l* of the article *Al*.

Vallada, both good castles in the neighbourhood of Xativa. I said I would consider of it. I left my tent and went to the Queen's apartments. There I found some of my Council, such as the Master of the Hospital, En Hugh de Fullalquer, En Guillem de Moncada, Eximen Perez de Arenós, En Carrós, and others. I told them what capitulation the Kaid proposed, and asked them to advise on it. They asked the Queen to speak first, and the Queen said: "My lord, what counsel can I give you in this "matter? none at all: yet my advice is, that since "you can have Xativa, you ought not to delay for "the sake of a castle or two; for Xativa is the "finest castle, and the richest that I or any man has "ever seen." The Master of the Hospital said: "I can add nothing to the Queen's words: for her "advice is good." All the rest assented; and I said they had given me good counsel, and as such I accepted it; for I bethought myself that when the lesser castle was surrendered, the larger one could no longer remain in the Kaid's hands.

CCCLIV.

So I sent for Eximen de Toviá and for the Saracens, and made them this answer: that I so loved the father of the Kaid and the son himself, whom the father had left in charge to me, that although I had not got the business ended as I

wished, yet would I for his love grant the capitulation as proposed. They then asked on behalf of the Kaid, and of the sheikhs in the city, that I would consent to Eximen de Toviá holding the castle ; for the Kaid, said they, trusted in him, and I also. I consented to that, and took possession of the lesser castle : thereupon I withdrew my army, furnished the castle with provisions and men, and returned to Valencia.

CCCLV.

While I was there, two Moors of Biar came to me, both old men more than fifty years of age, and told my porters that they wished to speak with me. They came, they said, for my great advantage. I made them come in, and asked what they wanted. They said : "If you will come to Biar, we will give "up the castle to you ; it is the best on this "frontier." I said : "Now tell me how is it that you "can give the castle to me ? and how that can be "done ?" The answer was : "We are among the "best connected people in the town ; we have "spoken with some of our own relatives and friends "who have the power of giving it over to you ; and "we know for certain that should you show your-"self, the thing would be soon done." I said : "Do return home ; I will collect some hundred "knights in this place, and will be at Xativa on

"such a day. Bring me thither a clear plan of your "design, and I will see whether the thing can be "done or not."

CCCLVI.

When the appointed day came, I was at Xativa, where one of those Saracens arrived. I asked him what had become of his companion. He told me that all the Moors of Biar had agreed to surrender the town to me, and that his companion had remained behind that he might lead them all, and persuade them to make their submission the moment I should make my appearance. I therefore determined to go to Biar confidently, for up to that time no Saracen had ever broken faith with me, or refused to surrender his castle when he had promised to do so, except, perhaps, Landrach at the affair of Roguar.[1] The Saracen made such strong representations that I went thither; yet, when I arrived there, I found the Saracens of Biar all under arms outside the town. I then told the Saracen

[1] The text here is much vitiated or else very obscure. "E nos "anam la ab aquesta fiança, car "anch sarray nons trenca fe quens "hagues promesa per rao de car- "tell quens hagues promes de "retre de Lançrat enfora en lo feyt "de Rogat." Thus the modern Barcelona edition, which is, generally speaking, more correct than that of Valencia, 1557. This one, however, has: "De rendre de "Landrach enfora en lo feyt de "Roguar," which, though not differing materially from the above, is far from solving the difficulty. *Landrach* and *Lançrat* might be corruptions of Al-azrach, the name of a Moorish rais, of whom more will be said hereafter; but where was Rogat, or Roguar, situated?

who was with me, "Do you go to them, and tell them I am here." He went to them, and they said they would not treat with him, and that if he went near them they would stone him. I stayed there three or four days, on the side of the town leading from Ontenientes, on this side of the water.

CCCLVII.

Thence I removed to a hill on the side towards Castalla. It was Michaelmas, and I had my house set up there; those who could not have houses, built good huts; some in houses, and some in huts, we stayed there three months, during which I had a "fonevol" constructed, and but few days passed without a skirmish between my men and those of the town; for there were inside no less than seven hundred footmen, all good men, and well armed.

CCCLVIII.

On a certain day I collected my barons, and knights, and such of the military Orders as were at hand, besides En Guillem de Moncada, who had come from Tortosa with sixty cross-bowmen, all very good men. I made an attack upon the town, and tried to take up quarters in it. The Saracens made a stout defence, giving up nothing but through sheer force; many knights on our side being wounded, and as many or more men on

their side. In this manner I stayed there from the middle of September till the beginning of February of next year. I will not recount the deeds of arms that were there performed, nor all the parleys between me and the people of Biar, for it would take me too long a time to relate.

CCCLIX.

To make the matter short, when it came to the last, the Kaid of Biar, whose name was Muzalmoravit,[1] surrendered the castle to me. I left the Saracens in the town, and granted them charters for their "zunes,"[2] and that they should for all time after remain under me and my descendants.

[1] *i.e.*, موسى المرابط, or Musa, the Almorávid.

[2] "E faem les cartes de lurs "Çunes, e que romanguesien tots "temps ab nos e ab los nostres." Çunes is derived from *sunna*, or *sonna*, سُنّة, meaning traditional law founded on the deeds and sayings of the prophet Mohammad. شريعة, *xariâ* is civil law. In all the charters granted to the Moors in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the Christian kings of the Peninsula, the words *çunna et xâra*, سنّة وشريعة are generally used as expressive of the laws and customs, both religious and civil, under which the conquerors allowed the Moslems to live for a time. As long as that great bulwark of Islam in Spain—the mighty kingdom of Granada—from Gibraltar almost to the gates of Murcia existed, these charters, many of which have been published in various collections, were in full vigour, the Christian kings being practically tolerant and faithful to their engagements; but after the taking of Granada, in 1492, the capitulation signed by Ferdinand and Isabella was most wantonly infringed. James, himself, after a rebellion of his Valencian subjects, of which some account will be given hereafter, had them expelled, notwithstanding the opposition of his great vassals, who lost thereby thousands of agricultural labourers.

CCCLX.

When that was over, I returned to Valencia, and determined to ask Zeit to surrender Castalla, which he was bound to give up to me according to the terms of the capitulation; but Don Eximen Perez de Arenós told me there was no need of that, inasmuch as Zeit held it as a fief of my crown, and I could easily agree with him for it. He said to me: "Don Guillen Perez de Castalla holds it for Zeit, "and can surrender it to you whenever you have "made terms with that Saracen." I asked Don Eximen: "What terms do you think I could make?" He said: "I think that Zeit will accept "in the kingdom of Valencia one fifth of what "Castalla is worth." After a rather long debate, it was agreed that I should give Zeit the towns of Xest and Marxiant; I gave them to him, and in that way I got possession of Castalla. And when the Saracens saw that I had Xativa and Biar, they surrendered to me the whole country, from the Xucar up to Murcia, on condition that I should leave them in the kingdom. And so I had it all to myself.

CCCLXI.

I then left for Aragon, passing through Teruel and Daroca, and came to Catalayud. One day I went to hear mass in the great Church of Saint

Mary at Catalayud. After mass, Don Eximen Perez de Arenós came to me, and said: "My lord, "need be that you look into your affairs, for diffi- "culties are arising that you know not of." I said: "What difficulties may those be?" He said: "You will soon learn." I replied: "You do ill, "Don Eximen Perez; if you know of anything to "my disadvantage, I would be glad to know of it; "it would please me greatly to hear of it; for if it "were something hurtful, I would at once take "counsel, for if one can provide against such "things beforehand, so much the better." He said: "Do you really wish me to tell you the bad news?" I said: "Certainly, I do wish it." Don Eximen then said: "Alazarch[1] has taken from you "some castles and lands in Valencia; we did not "dare tell you of it." I said: "You and they did "ill not to tell me, for you know I will not willingly "lose anything of my property; but, on the other "hand, it pleases me much, for if, on account of the "treaties made with the Saracens I did not drive "them out of this country, should they now have "done anything owing to which I should be jus- "tified in driving them out, I would be delighted to "be the means of destroying them entirely and their

[1] This is the first time that the name of this rais, or chief, is expressly mentioned in the *Chronicle*. His name is variously written Alzarach, Alaçrac, and Alazrat, all derived from الأزرق, Al-azrak, or he of the light blue eyes; in Spanish, *zarco*. See also above p. 471, *note*.

"accursed sect, and that those temples where the "name of Mohammed has long been proclaimed "and invoked, should be retrieved for the Faith of "Christ." I then asked Don Eximen if he knew what castles had actually been taken. He said: "Gallinera, Serra, and Pego," I said: "Since "those are the news, I will see who does me harm; "I will go to Valencia and take counsel." Then I told the Queen what Don Eximen Perez de Arenós had just said to me. She said: "I knew of it already, but dared not tell you." I said to her: "You were grievously wrong not to tell me, for the "sooner man takes good counsel on any harm done "to him, the better is it for him; it is my will to go "to Valencia and recover my land as soon as pos- "sible, for the more Alazarch settles himself in my "land, the worse it will be to get it back from him." She said: "You speak well; good luck attend you. I beg you to take me with you."

CCCLXII.

Thereon I and the Queen departed and went to Valencia. Whilst there the Kaid of Xativa arrived with a great company of Saracens and about ten of his sheikhs; he came very joyfully before me and kissed my hand, and asked me how it went with me. I answered: "Well, thank "God; but I am much grieved for the injury

"Alazarch has done me in taking my castles, and "I wonder how you have permitted it." The Kaid and his companions then said: "My "lord, if it grieves you, know that it annoys us "as much, and that it is grief to us." But yet, though they spoke good words, I observed that they seemed joyful and contented; and while I expected that the harm Alazarch had done me would grieve them, and that they would offer their help, they offered none, but merely said they had come to see me, and were glad to have done so. They also said that by God's grace, and ours, Xativa was presently so full of people that they jostled against one another. The Kaid and his men stayed two days with me at Valencia. On the third day they went away, and I said to the Queen: "Have you observed what those "Saracens did? how joyfully they came, and how "they turned aside from our troubles and went "away so lightly?" She said: "I did not ob- "serve it; but I understand that you speak the "truth; these people care little or nothing about "our troubles; not a word did they say about "your going to them, or inviting you to their city."

CCCLXIII.

When the Kaid of Xativa and his sheikhs had departed from Valencia, I went to Burriana to

hunt. I had been there two days, when one night, as I was in bed, they knocked at my door, and said that a messenger was there from the Queen.[1] I thought at first that the messenger must be concerning some new rising that had occurred. He came in and gave me a letter from the Queen, of which the contents were, that Alazarch had lately taken the castle of Peñaguila. I was deeply concerned at it, since that instead of my arrival at Valencia having made Alazarch repent of what he had done, he was doing still greater mischief, taking from me a place of so much importance and honour as Peñaguila was. I was greatly stirred within myself. On one side I was greatly annoyed at the affront, on the other I was pleased, for it afforded me good opportunity for taking revenge on the Saracens. I could not sleep at all that night, but sweated as if I was in a warm bath.

CCCLXIV.

Next morning I mounted and went to Valencia. I found there the Bishop of Valencia, who afterwards was Bishop of Zaragoza, named En Arnau, of the Peralta family; Don Pedro Fernandez de Azagra, Don Pedro Cornell, Don Eximen de Urrea, En G. de Muncada, castellan of Tortosa,

[1] At this time James's queen was Yoland of Hungary, daughter of King Andrew (1205—1235).

Don Artal de Alagon, and Don Rodrigo Liçana, all of whom came out to meet me. I told them to come next day to me, that I wished to speak with them of a great, high, and precious matter. They said they would come as I commanded. And next day after mass I had two clerks of the church of Valencia, both men of importance, and five of the citizens, and some barons, and the debate began. I said to them that I had come expressly from Borriana on a letter from the Queen, in which she informed me that Alazarch had taken the castle of Peñaguila; that the news had greatly grieved and angered me, considering that the Saracens should have so much audacity as to take two or three of my castles; and what was more, that they would not refrain from doing me injury when I had let them remain in the country, close to Valencia and to my own house. "And now it is to my shame "and yours that, while we are in our own country, "the Saracens should esteem so little my love and "my sovereignty over them. It has grieved me "much, and it behoves you, as good vassals, to take "part in my grief; for just as you shared in my "prosperity, so you should bear a part of my "adversity and loss, and of my disgrace in this "instance. Wherefore, I pray you and order you, "by the sovereignty I have over you, that you "grieve for me, and help me to revenge the injury

"received; for it is at my heart dearly to avenge "the wrong. And it seems to me as if the thing "were the work of Our Lord, and that He wills "that His sacrifice be over the whole kingdom of "Valencia; and that He shields us from breaking the "treaties made with the Saracens, giving me cause "and reason to go against them, since, while I "was leaving them in peace in my own country, "not driving them from their homes, nor doing "ill to them, but allowing them, on the contrary, to "live in plenty among us, they should thus do "us harm. Know ye that with God's will I intend "to repay them well and hardly. And, moreover, "since they have taken the land from me, besides "that in which I had settled them, I have good "cause to drive them from it and repeople it with "Christians, and I will tell you how I intend "setting about to do that, after first hearing the "opinion of each of you, and seeing whether it "is better than mine."

CCCLXV.

"My plan is to reinforce the garrisons of the "castles which are in our hands, that is Xativa "and the others, with four hundred knights; when "they have been thus reinforced, to hold [in "Valencia] the festival of Epiphany, which will "be in a month hence; and then publicly and

"formally, before everybody in the church of Our "Lady Saint Mary, after exposing first all the wrongs "they have done us—to say that I will reassume "possession of the land and settle it with Chris- "tians. When the people of our kingdom and "of other countries shall hear that I have that "good intention for the service of God, it will not "be necessary to call by proclamation for an army "or a raid; we shall get more people than if we "did. But bear in mind that those who have not "rebelled against me, nor taken my castles, will "take no hurt from me or mine. I will appoint "a suitable day for them to prepare for leaving "the kingdom of Valencia with their women and "children and what goods they can carry away; "they shall be conducted by me till they are in "the kingdom of Murcia, and there they will learn "how to go on to Granada, and further on if they "like."

CCCLXVI.

My speech at an end, the Bishop of Valencia replied, and said that he gave Our Lord and His Mother great thanks for the good intention with which He had inspired me; that no man had served Our Lord so well as I had; that my name would be reported throughout the whole world, and that I could not give the Pope and the Church

of Rome more pleasure than by accomplishing my purpose. I then told the barons to speak, each in their turn. Those who had Saracen vassals spoke with reluctance, for what I proposed did not seem to please them. I said to them: "Why does this not please you?—why do "you not counsel me for your own advantage? "You should not abstain from giving me advice "for the good of God, and mine, and your own "in the end. Though your revenue will be "lessened, and not be so great by Christians as "by Saracens, yet you ought to consider how "great is the gain that I and you will derive by "the latter giving me cause to drive them out "of this country, without, however, breaking my "faith with them. Another very weighty con- "sideration is, that if, perchance, for the sins of "us Christians, it should sometime happen that "the Saracens beyond the sea, and those on this "side, should come to an agreement, and those "especially who dwell in our towns should rise, "they might perhaps take so many castles from "us, and from the King of Castile, that every one "who heard of it would be astonished at the "damage thus done to Christianity. And it is "better that harm should happen to others than "to ourselves, for time changes in one day, and "every man should take care that the change do "not happen to his hurt."

CCCLXVII.

Thereupon the citizens of Valencia, the bishops, and the clerks, supported me strongly in maintaining the opinion I had given. I was, therefore, enabled to overcome the resistance of the barons, who, perceiving that my opinion was more favourably received than theirs, gave in at last, and had to agree to my proposal. It was decided that Xativa and all the castles I held in the kingdom of Valencia should be strengthened. That of Xativa I at once assigned to En Guillen de Moncada with sixty men between knights and squires[1] properly armed. I also ordered other castles to be strengthened; where the garrisons could not defend themselves well and stoutly in case of attack, companies of men were sent till there were enough in each place. To the Saracens I despatched letters and messages written in Arabic, summoning them at a fixed time, and within the period of a month from that date of the letters, to be ready to leave the country with all their goods and chattels, and, in fact, with all they could take away; for it was not my will (I said) that they should remain in my kingdom after they had behaved so ill towards me and my people.

[1] "Ab lx. cauallers e escuders ab armes" in the Barcelona edition.

CCCLXVIII.

When the Saracens in some of the more important towns heard of my determination, they sent me such envoys as they could find, saying that they marvelled greatly at my wishing to drive them from their country; if more revenue was wanted they would willingly give what was reasonable and just. The people of Xativa, in particular, who had made a previous treaty with me, offered to pay yearly a hundred thousand bezants. After holding council on it, I answered the envoys that I well knew that they could, if they chose, increase their payments to me, and that the land would thus produce more than it did before; but that since they had begun a rebellion without any help or assistance from beyond seas, I knew very well that should their power become greater, and the opportunity favour them, they would rise again, since they had had the audacity and the folly of rising single-handed against me. Wherefore that I desired them all to prepare to leave the country immediately, safe and sound, with all their goods and chattels. Thus the messengers, weeping and in great grief, departed from me; but when my orders had to be carried out, the Saracens set themselves against them wherever they could, rising in such towns as could not resist, and attacking castles and villages, with the help of their

neighbours, all round. So vigorous, indeed, was their onset in different parts of the kingdom of Valencia, that they actually took ten or twelve castles from us, and a great war arose between Çhristians and Saracens. Those who could not attack or take a castle wherein to defend themselves, left the country and retired to Montesa, so that full sixty thousand fighting men, without counting the women and children, collected in that town.

CCCLXIX.

Meantime fear seized the Saracens lest I might take from them the goods and chattels they were carrying away, as well as what of their clothing was valuable. They deputed Don Eximen Perez de Arenós to say that they would willingly surrender to me half the goods and half the clothing they were taking away, on condition of my having them escorted out of the kingdom with the other half.[1] I replied that on no account would I do such a thing, for I had promised them security, and now to rob them on the road was what I would not do for anything in the world. I had told them that they would be under my safeguard, and that I would take care of them, provided they gave up their houses, hereditaments, and their native country

[1] "E faaren aço parlar per tal quels guiassem ab laltra partida;" literally, and such was their proposal to me, on condition that I would give them a "guiatge," or safe-conduct for their property as far as the other countries.

(*natura*); since I had pledged my word to them that they should depart safe and sound from the land, I would take no ransom (?) or service money from them.[1] I was much grieved for the hurt I was involuntarily doing to them; my heart would not bear to add further to their sorrow, and take from them anything they were carrying off. I had them escorted as far as Villena; the barons and knights who accompanied them assuring me that from the van to the rear the train of Saracens was fully five leagues long, and that certainly at the battle of Ubeda[2] not more people were massed together, men, women and children, than on this occasion. Don Frederick,[3] brother of the King of Castile, was then in Villena, which he was holding for the king [Ferdinand]; he took for each Saracen man and woman who arrived there, a bezant. Thus they paid, as I was told, a hundred thousand bezants, and then went into Murcia; some leaving for Granada, others for the land of the King of Castile, and so on. In this manner did most of the Valencian Saracens depart from the country.

CCCLXX.

Those who remained made Alazarch their captain. One day there came word to me that

[1] "Que no voliem pendre serueig dels."

[2] More properly called of "Las Navas de Tolosa," fought in 1212.

[3] The Infante Don Fadrique.

that Saracen's men were besieging Penacadell, and preparing engines (*alzaradas*) to batter the walls with, and that besides that very often fighting went on with lance and shield. I was then at Valencia; I sent immediately for the bishops, barons, and knights, who happened to be there, men experienced in war, as well as for the chief men (*prohomens*) of the city. I told them to get ready to go with me against the enemy, for news had come that Penacadell was being besieged, and I was determined to go there and raise the siege. "If Pena-
"cadell were lost (said I), no one would dare to
"go to Cossentayna, or Alcoy, or any place in the
"district of Xixona or Alicante, to the great injury
"of the Christians on this side of Deslida and Lleo.
"I hear that the Saracens have defeated a body of
"three thousand Christians, from the districts of
"Tortosa, Alcaniz, Castellot, Orta, Villalonga, Al-
"canada, Vallderoures, and other places which the
"Moors have evacuated. The Saracens happened to
"go against them, when no less than one thousand
"and four hundred of our men were slain in
"that encounter. Should Alazarch take Penacadell,
"it will be a great disaster for all the Christians of
"this kingdom." All the bishops and knights there present approved of my marching to the relief of the besieged. Don Eximen Perez de Arenós alone objected and said: "Saving your honour, I am
"not of that opinion; the Moors are many, and

"much emboldened by the victory they have just "gained over the Christians, and by the castles "they have taken. The part of the country which "they hold is mountainous, and such as no heavy-"armed horses can act in, and where we should not "risk sending our king; for should he be un-"successful, and be obliged to come back without "beginning or ending what he desires, there would "be no repairing the mischief done. On the con-"trary, should the king stay in Valencia, if we "happen to receive a check, his power will be "sufficient to retaliate, and repair our losses." All present agreed that Don Eximen spoke truth and reason; they entreated me humbly and earnestly not to go, but send some one thither. I felt that they spoke well, and gave the advice that was soundest; I agreed therefore to do what they asked of me.

CCCLXXI.

Thereupon my men went to the place. The Saracens held two hills, one on this side of the rock (Penacadell), and the other beyond it. Our people with armoured horses and footmen attacked the enemy, and took from him the hill which was on our side. There, on that hill, was killed a Saracen, by name Abenbazel,[1] the best man Alazarch[2]

[1] Elsewhere Abetibasol, or Aben Bassál, ابن بصّال which seems more correct.

[2] The edition of Barcelona has Almaçarich, which is decidedly wrong.

had in his host, and the most powerful of all; indeed, in valour he was greater than Alazarch himself. So by God's help was one of the hills gained. When the Christians saw that, they pushed on towards the other; but the Saracens who were on it, seeing that Abenbazel was dead, took themselves to flight, and gained the hill on the other side. The Christians believing that the Saracens would not so soon abandon that position, set no guard at the foot of it, in consequence of which all the Saracens fled and went to take shelter in Alcalá, and in the country held by Alazarch. Ever since that time the Christians took courage, and the Moors lost it. The war, however, lasted three or four years, until Alazarch made certain overtures, first to En Manuel, the King of Castile's brother, and then to the King of Castile himself.

CCCLXXII.

The King of Castile then begged me to grant Alazarch a truce for his sake. Alazarch (said he) had sent to him his banner [with a messenger], besides another he had sent on a previous occasion. The King had also sent his to Alazarch, so that he had him, as it were, under his protection, and was bound to defend him if he could. Alazarch said so to his own people and to others who reported it to me. He had, in an

interview with Eximen de Foces, held out the King of Castile as a threat to me. I granted Alazarch a truce, to last from one Easter to another.

CCCLXXIII.

In the beginning of Lent a messenger came from a Saracen, a great confident of Alazarch, who always went with him, and by whose advice he did a great deal. The message, which came through a Christian to whom the Saracen had spoken privately, was thus worded: "My Lord, such a "Saracen," naming him, "salutes you, and says "that if you will only grant to him what he may "ask, he will contrive that Alazarch shall sell all "the grain he has in store, so that if you attack "him next Easter, you will find him absolutely "unprovided and unable to defend himself, for "he will get him to sell all the grain he has." I asked the messenger if the Saracen was of Alazarch's council and in his confidence. He said, "Yes, he is, more so than any one else about "him; you may trust in him, inasmuch as he does "not want any reward from you till he has accom- "plished what he is about to undertake, in the most "satisfactory manner." I said to him, "Now tell "me what the Saracen wants of me." He said, "Only three hundred bezants and three 'jovadas' "of land in Benimazor,[1] and that you make an

[1] Benimaçor.

"agreement and charter that on his performing "what he says, you will give him the bezants and "the land." I said I would do so, and had accordingly an agreement drawn up in the way I undertook. Then he told me further; he said that when he had persuaded Alazarch to sell his corn, he would at once come to me, and desert his master's company. And that nothing more was needed then but that I should then fall on him, for all his affairs would be irretrievably lost; I might do with him as I wished.

CCCLXXIV.

Thereon I fixed a day for En Guillen de Cardona, En Guillen de Angresola,[1] and other Catalonian and Aragonese barons to be with me without fail sometime before Easter Sunday. I had great need of them (said I) and they would do me great service and honour by coming. The Saracen meanwhile spoke with Alazarch, saying, "Alazarch, "you have supplies, but no money, and yet you "have to pay soldiers and give them a great deal "of your substance; now the King of Castile "is your friend; he craftily got for you a truce "from the King of Aragon; let us send to beg "him to obtain the same for another year. The

[1] In the Barcelona edition Dangleola, by the omission of an *s*, for the right name is d'Angresola, or Anglesola.

"King of Aragon is so afraid of him, that he will "not refuse him that, or even a greater demand "if he should make it. We are sure to have a "good harvest next year, and you can then have "money enough to pay your troops with, if you "will only sell the corn you have now in store, "and have it replaced by that of the next harvest."

CCCLXXV.

Alazarch answered, that the advice was very good, and that he would follow it. He accordingly sent at once a messenger to the King of Castile to beg him to get from me a prorogation of the truce for another year, for he was entirely at his service and command. When the King of Castile saw Alazarch's letter, he wrote to me asking to have the truce prorogued. This was about Lazarus Sunday.[1] Meanwhile the Moor himself came to me, and said that he had accomplished all he had offered, and that I would find, by inquiry, that Alazarch had sold the whole of his grain. I then wrote to my people of Concentayna and other places close to Alazarch's camp and ascertained that he had really parted with all his corn. I then replied to the King of Castile that I wondered much how he asked me to do what

[1] "E açò fo en torn del digmenge de Latzer poch mes o poch menys."

was to my injury. Alazarch (I wrote) had some time before come to me pretending that he wished to become a Christian, and take a relation of En Carróç for his wife; but when I was going by night to a castle of his, called Rognut,[1] he had planned treachery against me, and it was thus: I had only thirty-five knights with me, and he lay in ambush, with seven different bodies of men and with great sound of horns and clarions, and with many crossbowmen and buckler-men nightly. But for our Lord's help he had[2] overthrown and slain me. When after that I sent a hundred and seventeen Christians to build a tower near the castle, he captured them all and held them prisoners. I sent word to the King of Castile that he should show no love, nor ask me for anything for a man who had thus contrived my death. To the Moor, who had thus arranged matters for me, I duly sent the promised sum of bezants, besides a charter for the hereditament, as I had undertaken.

CCCLXXVI.

I held Easter at Valencia, and went thence to Xativa next Tuesday, taking with me no more

[1] In the Barcelona edition Rogat.

[2] "E ell donans celada ab vii "celades de moros, e ab gran "brugit de corns e danafils e "balesters, quey hauia molts, e "ab dargues." Anafils is the plural of anafil in *Span.* añafil and añafir from the Arabic, نفير, a "trumpet."

than sixty knights. On the Friday after Easter I left Xativa and went to Concentayna, where I learned that the barons were coming, and that some of them were already in Valencia. By the following Thursday I had met the kaids of Planes, of Castell, and of Pego. Next day I went to Alcalá, but Alazarch dared not wait for me, and shifted himself to Gallinera. I preferred going to Alcalá, for there rather than elsewhere were Alazarch's headquarters. I will not relate all that was done on the occasion, for it would lengthen this my book beyond measure; suffice it to say that on the eighth day after my arrival there, I was in possession of Alcalà, Gallinera, and sixteen more castles that Alazarch had taken from me; until at last that chief himself made an agreement with me to leave the country for ever, and never return to it. I gave Polop to a nephew of his, to hold for his life; that was the settlement between me and him.

CCCLXXVII.

Before this occurred, however, the King of Castile came to Alicante and sent a message to Alazarch to meet him, and he accordingly went thither. The King of Castile was hunting; Alazarch came with ten Moorish knights besides his "exortins"[1] or body-guard, who preceded him. The

[1] On the meaning of the word "exortins" see page 173, *note*.

King of Castile was told that Alazarch was coming, and he stopped. Alazarch came to him and kissed his hand. The King asked, "Dost thou know "how to hunt?" Alazarch answered: "If you "be pleased I can hunt the castles of the King "of Aragon." A Gallician (one of the King of Castile's people) who was present, said, "A poor Moor! who can hunt nothing but castles." There happened to be there a knight from Aragon who overheard the words; his name was Miquel Garcés, who in aftertime repeated those words to me. When I had taken from Alazarch all he had in the world, and expelled him from the country, I thought of that talk of his, and caused a letter to be written to the King of Castile, wherein I said how I had been told that Alazarch had gone to him, and had made the above taunting remark. I gave the King of Castile to understand that in a week's time I had taken sixteen of Alazarch's castles, and informed him that I also knew how to hunt; and that the end of Alazarch's hunting had been what he would learn by my letter.

CCCLXXVIII.

Presently, when I had completed my work in the kingdon of Valencia, and thus recovered what had been lost, I went to Aragon. Some time

before I heard that the King of Castile had fallen out with the King of Granada, and that the latter had sent for Moors from over sea, and that light horsemen [1] of the Africans and Saracens were overrunning the land; it might well be after all that, thus helped from abroad, the Granadine Moors would recover all the country of the King of Castile, and all they had ever lost through me, through the Castilians and others in Andalusia.[2] The King of Castile was at Seville [3] when he heard of this; he sent a defiance and declaration of war to the King of Granada, for that he had secretly got over [from Africa] a large body of men. The Granadine had besides laid his plots in all the towns and castles of the King of Castile, wherein there were Moors still, as well as in Seville, where a great number of them were living. All together they were to rise on a given day and attack the Christians everywhere, so that the King of Castile and his

[1] At this time Mohammad I., Ibnu-l-ahmar, surnamed *Alghálib billah*, ruled at Granada. One of the copies has *gents*, "perço quan ja nauia passat gran companya de gents;" but I prefer *genets*, as the light cavalry of the African Moors was generally called at that time. The Spanish words ginete, for the horseman or rider, and *gineta* for the peculiar mode of riding with a high saddle and short stirrups, seem to me derived from the زناتة, sometimes written چناتة, or African tribe of the *Zenetes*.

[2] Here the word Andalusia as written in the *Chronicle* may probably be meant for اندلس, Andalus, or Spain. That بلاد اندلس, or the "Land of the Wandals," is the generic name for Wisigothic Spain, the "Hispania" of the Romans, cannot be doubted. See above, p. 451, note 1.

[3] All the copies have *Xibilia*, which is the right spelling for اشبيلية, Ixbilia Hispalis, now Sevilla.

wife should be taken prisoners, and the lost towns and castles recovered at one blow. And matters were so arranged, that had not the King of Castile discovered the conspiracy in Seville, he might have lost body, wife and children. As it was, he had hardly left Seville when the Saracens, who were in great multitude there, rose up in arms, and in less than three weeks the King of Castile lost three hundred large towns and castles.

CCCLXXIX.

I was then at Sexena,[1] keeping Palm Sunday, in honour of the monastery there erected by Doña Sancha, my grandmother. I was told that the Queen[2] of Castile had sent word that she was at Osca (Huesca); the message came by Bertran de Villanova, my own born subject, a man whom I knew and loved well. When I heard of that I went to Agranyen,[3] one of my towns, four leagues from Huesca. There I found Bertran de Villanova, who gave me the Queen's letters. Their purport was, that she loved me much, just as a daughter should love her own father, well and faithfully. I had married her to the King of Castile, who was one of the highest and most powerful men in the

[1] Sexena, now Sixena in Aragon.
[2] Yoland, his daughter, married to Alfonso.
[3] Granyen, now Grañen in Aragon.

world, by whom she had already several sons and daughters—eight or nine. She prayed me, for God's sake, for our kindred, and for our own credit (*valor*), not to let her be disinherited, and to consult how to assist them. They had no one to consult or seek help from but me. The Moors had taken possession of nearly all their country, except perhaps a little; she prayed me, as her father and lord, in whom she had hope and confidence, to help her and her husband, that she might not see herself, the king, and her children deprived of their royal inheritance. My answer to En Bertran, when I had seen the letters, was that I could take no resolution where I was, but that I would go to Huesca, and there assemble my council, and make such answer as should satisfy the Queen. En Bertran kissed my hand, and thanked me as much as he could on her behalf.

CCCLXXX.

Next morning, after mass, I rode to Huesca, and ordered the barons who came with me, and those who were already in the town, to be early on the following day with me and with others in my house; that we wished to confer with them on very important and pressing business. There were there, the Bishop of Huesca, the Abbot of Montaragon, Fernando Sanchez de Castre,[1] Berenguer

[1] Ferrant Sanxes de Castre or Castro.

Guillen d'Entenza, En Eximen Perez de Arenós, Don Gonzalo Perez, his nephew, and the Archdeacon of Valencia. I exhibited the Queen's letter, and bade them give counsel as to how I should act in respect of what the Queen had sent to say. The Bishop of Huesca was requested to speak first, and he said, "Since you and the King wish "it, I will speak.

CCCLXXXI.

"My Lords, this is too great a thing for me to "advise the King to determine it exclusively with "our help, he having so many barons in his own "land, as archbishops, bishops, and so forth; "he should take their counsel on such important "business, as this is a greater affair even than that "of Ubeda,[1] or any other in Spain. I am of opinion "that the King assemble together his court, and lay "this before them, and with their advice do what "he may do."

I told Fernando Sanchez de Castre to speak, and he said, "Let Don Berenguer Guillen d'Entenza "speak first; he is older than I am; I will speak "after him." En Berenguer answered, "Never "mind that; do you speak first." Don Fernando then said: "This is what I say: It seems to me as "if the King cannot avoid affording his help to "the Queen on her sending him such a letter;

[1] The battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, fought in 1212.

"On the other hand, I think that now is the time "for our King to get amends for the wrongs the "King of Castile once did him; for he can rightly "ask for an indemnity, since not only the expedi- "tion will be an expensive one, but the assistance "to be given will be more needed and seasonable "than ever was help from one king to another. "Now let the King get back the castles that he "has so often demanded from Castile; unless he "gets them beforehand I will not advise him to "give his aid to the King of Castile, however "much the latter may need it, for true friends are "known in the hour of need." When Don Fernando had finished his speech, I told Fernando Sanchez to give his opinion. He said: "I support "the Bishop of Huesca's motion. Let our King "hold Cortes, and consult his barons first; I share, "however, Don Berenguer's opinion, that before "giving his help to Castile, our King should get "back the castles to which he has a right, for "certainly there never was so good an oppor- "tunity as this. We will help him as much as "we can in this his undertaking, and I believe "that others will do the same. Let him, as I say, "hold Cortes, for without that this business cannot "be settled; it is too important." The Abbot of Montaragon, Don Eximen Perez de Arenós, and Don Garcia Perez de Tarazona were of the same opinion. But it is not my wish to make too long

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a story; all said that they held the advice as good, and that I should send a message to the King to return to me Requena and the other places which I once held; I wished and intended helping him in his difficulty, but could not give him a complete answer till I had held a court: then we would make such an answer as should satisfy him.

CCCLXXXII.

Then they asked me to speak, and I said I was content to do so. "In the first place," said I, "I do not assent to anything you have said to "me. I will tell you how this business really stands. "Know that this is very like the case of one who is "tasting wine before buying it, with the full intention "of watering it afterwards. If he taste the wine, "it is for the purpose of ascertaining whether it "has been already watered, or is pure and strong, "so that he himself may water it.[1] The King of "Castile has put my daughter to this use; for the "wrongs he has done me he dare not ask for my "help, but tries to get it through my daughter. "Should he find by letters from her that I feel "inclined, other prayers for help will cer- "tainly endorse the first. To the advice to hold "Cortes thereon, my answer is, that I think it a

[1] "Sapiats que aquesta es una "manera dome qui tasta vi el uol "enayguar, car aquels que tasten "vi el volen enaygar (*sic*) uolen "saber si es enayguat o fort prime- "rament."

"right thing to assemble them. I will have two, "one for Catalonia and another for Aragon; the "first at Barcelona, the second at Zaragoza; yet "I shall not ask counsel of either of them on "this present business, for in no country in the "world have such assemblies of men the sense and "worth required in such cases.[1] I have had experi- "ence enough to know that members are generally "divided in opinion, and that whenever I asked "them for counsel on matters of importance, they "could never be made to agree. I will therefore "speak to them, explain the case, and ask them to "help and stand by me. For this is a thing I "cannot decline to do for three reasons: one, "because I cannot absolutely desert my daughter "and her children when it is sought to take their "heritage from them; another, and one greater "than any mentioned by you, that were I not "obliged from honour and duty to help the King "of Castile, still should I wish to help him, owing "to his being one of the most powerful men in the "world; and if I do not help him, and he extri- "cates himself from this difficulty in which he now "is, perhaps he will for ever after hold me for his "mortal enemy on account of my not helping him "in his great trouble, and if at any time he can do

[1] "Mas no quels deman de con- "seyl daquest feyt en neguna de "les corts, car en les terres del "mon no ha tant de sen ne de "valor com deuria."

"me harm he will most certainly do it, and will be "in his right. The third reason, and perhaps the "strongest of all, is that which naturally occurs to "me: if the King of Castile happen to lose his "land I shall hardly be safe in mine, and if any "loss and expense is thereby to be incurred, it had "better be sustained in protecting Castile from its "aggressors, and helping its king, rather than in "defending my own kingdom. There is in my "opinion no other counsel but to send a message "to the Queen that we will help her with all our "power. I will go into Catalonia and hold a Cortes "there; I will also hold them in Aragon; but in "neither of those assemblies shall I ask for "counsel[1]; I will apply for aid, and as soon as "I get it, will I run down to the assistance of "my daughter, and of the King of Castile, her "husband."

CCCLXXXIII.

I accordingly departed thence, went to Catalonia, and called together the States at Barcelona. When they were assembled, barons, citizens, and clergy, I asked them, since they and theirs had always helped me in such undertakings as that of Mallorca and others, that they would now help me in this one, as was much needed. Their answer was

[1] A note on this passage at page 329 of the Spanish translation alludes to the business transacted in these Cortes.

that they would deliberate thereupon, and as En Ramon de Cardona and some of his house claimed redress for some wrongs they had suffered of me, they would first speak with him thereupon, and then make such answer as should satisfy me. I replied that any one in my land who had any complaint to make, should come forward at once, and right would be done unto him; that ought not to be a reason for refusing me the aid I asked for. It was not good sense, I said, that whilst I asked them for one thing, they should reply by talking of another quite unconnected with it. Wherefore I prayed and commanded them to think better of it, for certainly the answer they gave did not become such good men as they were. They deliberated again, and then gave me answer as bad as, or worse than, the first.

CCCLXXXIV.

When I saw how badly they behaved to me, I told them that they had not sufficiently considered what might happen thereafter. If the King of Castile ultimately lost what was his own, I and they would find it harder to keep our property than we had done until then. I then addressed the clergy in these words: "What will you gain by "the churches where our Lord and His Mother "are now worshipped being lost, and the name

"of Mahomet proclaimed therein? And if what "belongs to me and to the King of Castile as "Christian kings, be lost, how can you expect "to keep what you yourselves own? Why answer "me so ill and so basely! I never thought that "I should ever assemble the States in Catalonia "without obtaining from them what was reason-"able; for surely had I asked from you urgently "what was unreasonable, I really think I should "have prevailed with you to grant it to me. But "since such is your answer, I will depart from you, "as much displeased as any lord ever was with "his people."

CCCLXXXV.

Saying which I arose, and would hear nothing more from them, and went to my house; they prayed me earnestly not to be angry, for they would again deliberate and give an answer. But for all that I would not wait; part of the members followed me to my own house, others remained behind; but ultimately those who had come with me went back to the others.

CCCLXXXVI.

When I was about to sit to my dinner,[1] the

[1] The text here has: "E quan "nos estauem aixi que no uoliem "menjar, enviaren nos," &c., which literally translated into English means, "And we were in "this state, and would not eat,

Assembly sent to me four of its members, En Berenguer Arnau, En Pedro de Berga, and two other barons, whose names I do not recollect, who begged to speak to me. I took them apart and heard what they had to say. They stated to me on behalf of their colleagues that it had never been, and should never be, the mind of the States on any account that I should ask counsel or aid of the prelates and barons of Catalonia without finding it at once. And that as I intended to leave the town, and had said so to some of their colleagues, they begged me to remain, promising, if I did, to behave in such wise that I should be satisfied with them. And this they prayed so much and so earnestly of me, that I had to grant it.

CCCLXXXVII.

At vespers they again came to me, saying that on no account would they (that I ought to believe) let me leave in anger with them. I ought to hear what they had to say, for their words in the first instance were not intended in bad sense. They, therefore, begged me, before they granted what I asked of them, to settle Ramon

"when they sent us a deputation," &c. Such is also the reading in the new unfinished edition of the *Chronicle*, which, as stated in the Introduction to the present volume, is by far the most correct. Yet I cannot help thinking that the passage is somehow vitiated, and that the natural construction is that given above.

de Cardona's claims. It was, they said, their intention to grant me after that the service known by the name of "bovatge," although they maintained I had no right to it, having already had it twice since the beginning of my reign; once when I came to the throne, and again when I went to Mallorca. They would, however, grant it again, since I wished it, and would serve me in that business so that I should have reason to thank them. I was content with their answer, and called together the States in Aragon, to be present at Zaragoza within three weeks.

CCCLXXXVIII.

I accordingly departed thence and went to Aragon. I called together the bishops and the barons, and they assembled in the Dominicans' Church. I rose and began by a text of Scripture[1]: "*Non minor est virtus quærere quam quæ sunt* "*parta tueri.*[1] Though our Lord has shown me great "love, and given me great honour in the business "of Mallorca and Valencia, and in other things up "to this time, there are reasons in other quarters "which compel me to defend what I have won "during my reign. For which cause, and inasmuch

[1] The text quoted is not from the Scripture, but from Ovid's *Ars Amandi*, lib. ii. v. 13. It is, besides, incorrectly given: "Non "minor est virtus quam quærere "parta tueri."

"as our Lord has by His favours enabled me to "remedy what ills others suffer, we all ought to give "Him thanks, since by your power and mine we "can give aid to the King of Castile, so closely "allied to me. We ought indeed to be grateful to "our Lord that the Saracens have done treason and "wrong to him. For after all it is far better that "they should have done it on the lands of another "prince than on ours. Wherefore I pray you for the "love you owe me, the service you have done me "on other occasions, and the ties there are between "you and me, that you help me in this matter. "The aid you give will be but little in comparison "with what I shall do for you; for every maravedi "*morabetin* I take of you, I will give you ten. "I do [not] ask this as a debt due to me by you, "but only that I may the better conclude this "business in which I am now engaged. If you will 'consider what honour I and you can gain by "righting what is amiss elsewhere, nothing should "be of account to us beside it. If I went beyond "seas on a crusade against the Saracens, I should "not merit one third as much as by defending what "God has here, in Spain, given to the King of Cas- "tile and to me. This is a thing whence I may get "both shame and loss; for if the King of Castile "lose his, I may also lose mine. If you wish that I "should state how I propose to act, let two barons "come to me, and I will tell them how the thing

"can be done. And thereon you can consider how "to make good answer to me, such as may be to "the honour of God, of me, and of you."

CCCLXXXIX.

A Minorite friar then arose, and said: "For the "greater[1] comfort of the King and you all, I will "tell you of a vision which one of our Franciscan "brethren, a Navarrese, saw some time ago. While "he was asleep, in his convent, he saw a man robed "in white who called him by his name, asking him if "he slept. The friar was at first afraid, and made "the sign of the cross. He asked, 'Who are you "who have awaked me in this manner?' And "the man said, 'I am an angel of our Lord, and "'come to tell thee that trouble has lately arisen "'between Saracens and Christians in Spain; be "'thou certain, however, that a king will set it all "'right, and hinder harm from coming to Spain.' "The Navarrese friar asked what king it would be, "and the reply was, 'The King of Aragon, named "James.'" The friar added that the Navarrese brother, who saw the vision, had told it to him in confession; he certainly had seen it, and that it grieved him much that the King of Navarre was not the one designated. "Wherefore you should

[2] "Per major anagament e major confort." I cannot explain the word *anagament*, the sense of which cannot be material.

"comfort the King and yourselves; I tell you that "our King is destined to set right what is so amiss, "and hinder further harm. And this I tell you for "your comfort."

CCCXC.

Then Don Eximen de Urrea arose and said, that visions were very good things; yet that they would retire and return after deliberating on what had been said. I told him that he spoke well, and he accordingly went away, the meeting in the Dominicans' church separating, and I going to my private apartments. I had not been there long when seven or eight of the Aragonese barons came up to me. I said to them: "Barons, what I have to tell you, I will not say "before the people, for these are things that must be "said privately, that you may help me in such wise "as may turn to my honour and yours. True is it "that I held Cortes at Barcelona, and I can boast "of the clergy and barons of Catalonia, that when "I showed my good intention of serving God and "helping the King of Castile, their wish and their "will was to assist me at once. At first they proposed "to help me with money levied on their vassals, "and to grant me the "bovatge."[1] Then they prayed "me to help with my own [vassals] as well as with "theirs, and said they would do service for all they

[1] On the meaning of the word "bovatge" see above, p. 105.

"then held of me or might afterwards hold in fief;[1]
"wherefore I pray you that you consent that your
"men aid me in like way as the Catalonians engaged
"to aid me, and I myself have engaged to aid them.
"And if that manner of grant do not please you, let
"us consider the matter in another way, which will
"come to the very same thing. For if you reckon
"it well, the most I shall get from your vassals will
"not amount to five thousand sous, whereas you
"may have from me as much as thirty thousand;
"wherefore it is good to stake five thousand
'for thirty thousand sous; for the most that a
'knight will have from me will not exceed five
"hundred sous, whereas I will give you that of
"which you may get two or three thousand to
"give away.[2] Further, I will grant you charters,
"that what I now ask of you, if you grant it, shall
"not be made a precedent against you and yours
"hereafter." On which they were all silent, and
answered nothing. I said to them: "I marvel that

[1] This rather obscure passage stands thus in the original: "Pri-
"merament quens aiudarien dauer
"quens darien sobrels homens
"lurs, et que fos bouatge. E
"despuix pregaren nos quels
"ajudassem del nostre, e del lur,
"e que nos servirien sobre tot ço
"que tenien de nos a feu; ço
"quels donariem, e aytambe els
"feus quels tenien per nos quels
"donariem."

[2] "Car si be ho estimats, daquell
"que mes haiam de nostres
"homens no pujara a v. milia
"sous, e uos porets ne hauer de
"nos xxx milia, perque fa bon
"metre v. milia sous per xxx milia
"que hom vos anadesca; e caual-
"ler per molt quey do no puyara
"de D sous aenant, E nos darem
"a uosaltres quels en porets donar
"ij miliao iij milia sous."

"you are thus silent; I have proposed to you "nothing that is not perfectly honourable,[1] nothing "that should vex you." When I saw that they would not speak, I said, "I wish to know from thee, Fernan Sanchez de Castre, what your answer is." He said, that since I wished him to speak, he would speak, and he spoke thus: "I do not believe that "the Aragonese will agree to that, nor will I. As "to myself, if you want to set fire to what I have, "do you begin at one end, and go out at the "other." I said to him: "Hast thou no better "answer to make, Fernan Sanchez? I am not "here to set fire to thy land, but to defend it, and "to increase your possessions, as I have done "hitherto; that is the way I will set fire to you, "not in the other way."

CCCXCI.

Thereon I asked Don Berenguer G. de Entenza to make answer; and he said: "My lord, if you want "anything of mine or of the lands in my possession, "I will give it willingly to you; but I cannot do "this thing you ask of me." En Eximen de Urrea[2] said: "My lord, we do not know in Aragon what "'bovatge' is; but we will consult, and make "answer to you." I said: "Barons, it behoves you

[1] "Que nos nols degem (deyem?) "vilania, ne res que pesar los "degues."

[2] Nexemen Dorrea or En Exemen Dorrea. See above, page 510.

"to come to a better resolution than the one you "just brought me; for I want nothing but what is "not for my good and yours." They accordingly went away to deliberate, and did not return to me on that day nor the next until the hour of vespers, when Don Berenguer G. de Entenza came. I said to him: "Don Berenguer G. de Entenza, "you are rather late with the answer you were to "bring me." He said: "The barons did not wish "to send it for this reason; they thought it would "not please you." I said, "Why should it not please me?" Don Berenguer replied: "Know for "certain, that they are not minded to make you a "favourable answer." I told him to depart, and ordered my porters to go to each of the barons, and tell them to come to me next morning.

CCCXCII.

On the appointed day and hour they actually came, and stood some time before me, saying nothing. I inquired of them, "What have you agreed upon as to what I asked of you?" One said to another, "Do you say." Then they told En Exemen de Urrea to speak first, and he said: "We do not know, my lord, what 'bovatge' means, "and I can tell you that when my colleagues first "heard the word, all cried with one voice, that they "would have nothing of the sort." I said to them:

"I marvel greatly at you; you are a hard people to "deal with, and it is difficult to make you listen to "reason. You should consider the matter well, and "see if my demand is made with good intent or "with ill. No man, I assure you, can think ill of "me for asking what I do ask of you, for certainly "I do it for good motives; firstly, for God's sake; "secondly, to save Spain; thirdly, that I and you "may hereafter deserve this great praise and honour "of saving Spain from the Saracens. And by my "faith in God, since the people of Catalonia, which "is the better sovereignty, and the most honourable "and the most noble, for there are there four "counts, the Count of Urgel, the Count of Ampu- "rias, the Count of Foix,[1] and the Count of Pallas; "besides so many barons (*richshomes*), that for one "here there are four in Catalonia, and for one "knight you have here there are five there, and "for one clerk there is here there are ten there, and "for one substantial citizen you can show there are "five in Catalonia; since the people, I say, of the "most honourable land in Spain are willing to give "me of what they have, you should refuse to give "me good aid, you who hold of me countless "honours, some of twenty, some of thirty, some of "forty thousand sous a year. And above all, when "all these are sure to come back to you, by what I

[1] El Comte de Fois. In the modern reprint Foix, both of which titles are pronounced and written in Spanish *Fox*.

"should give you in return." Their reply was that they would not do it in that way for anything in the world. I said, "Yes, you shall do it in one way or other." They were silent. Then I said: "Will you "not do it in such a way that it will cost you nothing "but words?" "How?" said they. "I will tell you "how. Promise to aid me before all the rest, and "pay nothing yourselves; in that way I will not "lose what the clergy, the military orders, and the "knights and citizens should pay; you your-"selves will keep your part."[1] They said they would deliberate, and would make answer.

CCCXCIII.

Next morning they met at the Dominicans', and sent two knights to me. I was at the time engaged at the Bishop of Zaragoza's, hearing a law-suit of Doña Teresa, and Garcia de Vera, and Miguel Perez de Alagó.[2] When I had done with that, they sent to me Sancho Gomez de Balanrassa and Sancho Aznares de Arbe,[3] who addressed me in these words: "My lord, the barons and the

[1] "Nos uos direm com: pro-"ferits nos denant tots, e nons "donets res del uostre, per ço que "nou perdam dels clergues, ni de "les ordens, ni dels cauallers, car "tot ho haurets vos altres."

[2] "Que era jutge dun pleyt "Daçuer que hauia Dona Teresa "ab Garcia de Vera [e] ab Miquel "Pereç Dalagó."

[3] Thus in the first edition of 1557. The modern one has: "E "nos que exiem de aqui enviaren "nos Sanç. Gomes de *Balamaçan*, "e Sanç Açnares de *Luna*, e "dixeren nos," &c.

"knights send to say that they consider the busi-
"ness asked of them the greatest thing that a
"King ever at any time proposed to the Cortes;
"and they declare that they will do nothing of
"it; they would rather lose all they have." I looked at the Bishop of Zaragoza, who was then with me, laughed, and said, "Certainly the "barons do not make a fitting answer to my "request; but at another time, please God, they "will make a better one on this matter." When these words of mine were reported to the knights assembled, they all shouted aloud, and said, "To "Alagon, to Alagon! let us take council there, "and see what is to be done." All accordingly left the town; only two of them remained with me.

CCCXCIV.

When I had dined, Pedro Jordá de Exea [one of the two knights who had stayed behind] came up to me and said: "My lord, it grieves and "annoys me much to see what mischief is being "done by so rash and unwise a resolution[1]; but I "cannot help going to my colleagues. Is it your "pleasure that I should say anything to them for "you?" I said, "I do not wish you to say anything "to them." "Mind you," said he, "if you wish me "to say anything to them, tell me, and I will say "it." "Do you really mean, Pedro Jordá, that

[1] Ab rauata e no ben.

"you will repeat to them what I will tell you?" He said, "Yes, my lord, whatever your message "be, I will deliver it." "Then go and tell them "this from me, that I have no doubt that to-morrow "they will be more stubborn than to-day, and in "a fortnight, and even in a month, more stubborn "and intractable than they are now; but at the "end of the year they will wish they had granted "my request: and may God confound you, Pedro "Jordá, if you do not repeat to them my very "words!" And so after secretly taking their oath at Zaragoza, the members of the Cortes withdrew to Alagon, and thence to Mallen, and I went to Calatayud.

CCCXCV.

Once there I sent them a message by the Bishop of Zaragoza that I would do them justice if they had any grievance to complain of; but that I marvelled much at their behaving in such a manner against their natural lord, so harshly and so obdurately. Thereon they sent me word that they would send to me Don Berenguer Garcia de Entenza, Don Artal de Alagó, and Don Ferris de Liçana, if I would only grant them a safe-conduct. This I gave, and sent them besides another message, to the effect that if they had any complaints to make I was ready to do them justice. Don Berenguer and his companions came to

Calatayud. I was then staying at the church of Saint Mary, where more than a thousand inhabitants of Calatayud being present heard what was said. I first desired the deputation to tell me why had they taken an oath, and made a league at Saragossa, without ascertaining first whether any wrong had been done to them, and whether I was prepared to make it good or not, for certainly it was a marvellous thing, I said, for vassals to swear a league against their natural lord, without his knowing why. They replied, that they had done it because I had broken the *fueros* (liberties) of Aragon. I said "You should "show me how, and I will make it good. I have "a copy of the 'Fueros of Aragon' by me, and "will have it read before you, chapter by chapter, "that you may point out wherein they have been "infringed; if so I will make it good to you." They said: "There is no need of having the 'Fueros' "read; we will state in a few words how the "infraction stands." My reply was: "I am "willing to hear your complaints, provided you "deliver them in writing." They accordingly produced a memorandum of the charges they had to make, namely, that I had infringed the "Fueros of Aragon," in that I had with me a number of clerks learned in civil and canon laws,[1] who gave

[1] "Car menauem pladesses en lleis ne en dret." The modern edition has: "Car menavem pladeses en lleis ni en decret." If the word

judgment according to them. That in this manner I had done wrong to Don Berenguer Garcia de Entenza, one of the speakers, in the matter of Montpellier. Other complaints they made, which had neither top nor bottom, but were only designed to cover the misconduct of the Cortes in that instance.[1]

CCCXCVI.

My answer was that it was true that I had civil and canon lawyers in my household, but that I was bound to have such lawyers by me: every king's court ought to be accompanied by canon, civil, and "Fuero" lawyers, for there were law-suits in all those branches.[2] I myself, by the grace of God, had three or four kingdoms to my share, and law-suits came before me of many different kinds. If I had not with me those who could judge and sentence such suits-at-law, it would be a shame to me and to my court, as neither I nor any layman could know all the law-writings there are in the world. That they might help me when necessary, I had them with me wherever I went, especially on account of my different states not being under one "Fuero," or one custom.

pladeses be meant for pleaders, in French, *plaideurs*, I should imagine that the meaning of the sentence is that given above.

[1] "E vns altres clams que no "hauien cap ni sol, sino que "uoliem cobrir lur errada."

[2] "Car en tota cort de Rey "deuie auer decretalistes, e le- "gistes e furistes hi anassen."

Therefore it was that I took them about with me, and made them follow my court. I then desired the deputies to say whether I had ever judged them by any other "Fuero" than that of Aragon in such cases as it could be applied; for if I had, I would willingly redress it. The "Fuero" of Aragon says that every man resort in equality to his lord.[1] They did not, however, consent to having the "Fuero" read word by word in the matters in which they said I had done them wrong. Whereupon, having answered every one of their complaints, which were quite unreasonable, and should not have been made, I addressed them in the following words:—

CCCXCVII.

"Barons, it seems to me that you wish to treat "me as the Jews treated our Lord, when they "took Him on the Thursday, at the Supper, and "brought Him before Pilate there to be judged, "crying, all the time, 'Crucifix, Crucifix.' You "say that I break your 'Fueros,' and you do "not say in what nor how. You are not willing "to accept judgment from me: this is the most "novel pretension that ever men raised against

[1] "Que vaja hom a sen natural e a equaltat;" such is the reading in the edition of 1557. The reprint has: "Que uaia hom a sen natural e a equaltat."

"their lord. But I will tell you, barons, there "are two things that embolden you in that evil "counsel; one is the aid we have to give the "King of Castile, of which I cannot fail, as it has "been promised to him; the other is my own "wisdom which keeps me from revenging this on "you. Were it not for those two things, there is "no plain or wall or rock from which I would "not drag you; for, for every knight you have, "I would bring three knights into the field, who "would be no friends of yours, nor would they "spare doing you harm in body and in property. "Besides which I have in my favour all the cities "and citizens of Aragon and Catalonia, who would "be against you, knowing as much of war as you "yourselves do. And since the greater power and "greater wealth is with me, it seems to me that "you should not encroach on me wrongfully." Thereon the deputation took leave of me and departed.

CCCXCVIII.

When the barons departed I learned that they meant to meet at Almunien[1] on a fixed day, and as I knew what day it was to be, I determined to go to

[1] Almunien, on the road to Saragossa. Munien, without the article, seems to be the dual of منية, Munya or Minya, a "garden," of which name there are still several villages in Aragon, such as Almunia del Romeral, Almunia de Doña Godina, &c.

Huesca, and begged the Bishop of Zaragoza[1] to go with me, for I had need of him and wished to send him to them. The Bishop said that he would. When we got to Huesca, I sent the Bishop to Almunien, where the barons were to meet, and sent them word, that I prayed and commanded them by my lordship over them not to do so great offence against me as the one they were planning. The Bishop went thither and told them this in my name; he then came back, and said that Fernan Sanchez de Castre and Don Berenguer Garcia de Entenza would come to me, if I gave them a safe-conduct. The safe-conduct was granted; but as I had already sent them word that I would leave the business in the hands of the Bishop of Zaragoza and of the Bishop of Huesca,[2] when the deputation came, I did not receive them. To shorten the story, for it would be too long to tell, nothing was done with me, or with the bishops, and matters remained in the state they were. Though it was again offered to them that I would give judgment in their case,[3] they would not accept my offer, and went away.

CCCXCIX.

When I saw things in this way, I sent for En Pere an En Ramon de Moncada and other barons

[1] Don Rodrigo de Ahones.

[2] The Bishop of Huesca at this time was Don Vital de Canellas.

[3] "Quels fariem dret"; giving them formal hearing and judgment thereon.

of Catalonia, and for the men of Lerida, Tamarit, Almenara, and other places, to come to me and to the army, with their men and their arms, appointing a day on which I would be at Monzon.

CCCC.

While the letters patent summoning my vassals were on their way, I being then at Barbastro, the Aragonese knights sent to say that if I gave them a safe-conduct, they would come to me. I gave it them, and there came Fernan Sanchez de Castro, Don Berenguer Garcia de Entenza, and Don Ferris de Lizana, who among others had bound themselves by oath to make a league. We met in the great church of Saint Mary of Barbastro; Fernan Sanchez spoke for them, and said that the oath they had sworn was not against me individually, but because I, as King, had infringed their "Fueros," and had asked of them things contrary to custom. In Exea, for instance, I had, he said, caused divisions among them, when Don Exemen de Urrea, Don Artal de Alagó, and the other barons and knights held with me, against Fernan Sanchez, Don Berenguer Garcia, and Don Ferris.[1] I replied to those three that I had done them no injury,

[1] "An Exea los haviem partits "quant contenien ab nos don "Eximen Durrea, e don Artal "Dalagó e els altres richs "homens e els cavallers, levat "Ferran Sanxes, e don Bñ. G. "e don Ferris."

broken no "Fuero," taken nothing from them; on the contrary, I had given them hereditaments; Don Ferris was the holder of a good honour when he went into this business, and I had endowed the father of Don Berenguer Garcia with all he had in the world; wherefore I marvelled much they did so harsh a thing against me. And that I may make it short to you [reader] they could not come to terms with me, and I told them, since it was thus, I would have to defend myself against them.

CCCCI.

I went to Monzon, where there first came to me the men of Tamarit. There was near that town a fortress built by Pedro Maça, son of En Arnau de las Celles, and I made them attack it; it was taken and demolished. Then I went to Arafals,[1] and by the help of the men of Almenar and Tamarit besieged it, and it surrendered to me. Then I went to Lerida, and begged and commanded its men to make ready to join my army; for I had resolved to go to the aid of the King of Castile. I departed thence, and because the waters of the Cinca were high, went to Monzon, crossed the bridge there, and stayed a night. Thence I went to Pomar and had a "fonevol" constructed, besides a wooden tower;

[1] Rafals.

but with a "brigola"[1] which the men in the place had, they prevented our bringing up the "fonevol," or the wooden tower, so that we could not do them hurt. When I saw that, and that I could make no progress, I sent to Tortosa for a "brigola" that I had there, with which to destroy that in the town.

CCCCII.

Then came Pedro Martinez, a clerk, son of Don Martin Perez, Justicia of Aragon, and said that if I would consent to raise the siege of the place, they would meet me in this way; they would refer the question between me and the knights to the Bishop of Zaragoza and to the Bishop of Huesca. On my part, I was to return the honours which, as they said and thought, I had taken from them; on their part they assured me that they would do me justice, otherwise I might take their lands from them. They would (they said) give the bishops such security that I should be satisfied; if I only appointed a place for the meeting, they would surely come to me; and thus the question between me and them should be settled.

CCCCIII.

I was content with what Pedro Martinez said, and accordingly raised my camp and went to Monzon.

[1] *Bricola*, and *brigola*, an engine to throw stones. "Brigole machine á jetter des pierres"; Lacombe, *Dictionnaire du vieux langage Français* (Paris, 1767, 8vo), vol. ii. p. 73.

I desired the men of Gil to receive them within their town, and they did so. The deputation came to Gil, and took up quarters there; there might be as many as a hundred and fifty knights; with them were Don Berenguer Garcia de Entenza, Don Ferris de Liçana, Fernan Sanchez de Castre, with others, besides the sons of En Fortunez de Berga, and several others, who were pensioners of mine, and yet friends of theirs. Then the matter was referred to the Bishop of Zaragoza and to the Bishop of Huesca; and they undertook to do right as to the wrong they had done me by coming against me and my sovereignty. If the judgment was that I should restore them their honours, they should be restored. It was stipulated that there should be truce till I had come back from assisting the King of Castile, and for fifteen days afterwards. This was put down in writing, and a day was appointed on which I would be in Zaragoza, and they were to be there also. I consented to this for two reasons: the first, because I knew very well they could not[1] give me further security to abide the proposed judgment, for all they had, nay, their very persons, were already in my power; again, because it was then harvest time, the middle of June, and I could not keep my men with me, so great yearning had they to go home. I could not make them stay; neither blows, nor a close watch, nor prison could prevent their deserting the

[1] The original has: "Que ells nons podien assegurar dret."

camp, and though I myself frequently watched them, and when detected punished them severely and beat them, I found it impossible to stop them.

CCCCIV.

When the day agreed on with the knights came, I went to Zaragoza, and they went also ; the Bishop of Huesca came as far as Almudevar, where he was seized with illness ; he said that it grieved him that he could not go on, so ill was he, and he had to go back. So I told the knights that the Bishop of Huesca could not come to the appointment, which they already well knew. I then told the Bishop of Zaragoza that I was ready to submit to his decision, which should stand as good as if both bishops had joined in it. The Bishop said he would speak with them and learn if they consented to that. They said to him, "For what does the King wish us to "give him security?" [1] The Bishop said, "For that "which you have undertaken ; and he will perform "what has been agreed in writing between him "and you." As I afterwards learned the Bishop thought from what passed between him and the knights that they were too deeply committed by their oath against me to submit to his judgment. For all the property they had was not enough security, and they would have to put their own persons in my

[1] "Quin dret vol lo Rey de nos "que li façam ni le firmem? De "ço, dix lo bisbe, que li hauets "feyt, e el seguir uos ha ço que "es encartat entre uos e ell."

power to do my will. On which he spoke with me and said, "My lord, it seems as if the knights had "undertaken something towards you which they "cannot fulfil, and that they now are aware of it. "It appears to me that I cannot order them to do "you right, for all they have would not be a "sufficient caution."

CCCCV.

I said to him, "Bishop, it is not for you to give "excuses from one side to the other; let what you "say be your decision; I will hold the honours of "the knights as security that they will obey your "judgment." The Bishop's reply was that he did not think he should give a judgment in the case likely to disinherit the knights of everything they had in this world. I said, "What is that to you, if they put themselves into the noose?" The Bishop would say no more about it, and the "honours" remained as a pledge in my hands, for the knights broke the written engagement they had made with me at Monzon. They would not abide the penalty thereof, whereas I abode by the truce they had sworn to, as set forth in writing between me and them.

CCCCVI.

After this, relying on the truce the knights had granted me, I went with what forces I could to

assist the King of Castile. I passed through Zaragoza and went to Teruel, and sent word to my sons,[1] and to En Ramon de Cardona, En Ramon de Moncada, and the others, to come to me at Valencia with what forces they could. I had summoned in all two thousand knights, but from Aragon only one came, namely Don Blasco de Alagon; so that of two thousand knights in my pay I had only six hundred with me. In Teruel I spoke to the chief men of the town, and asked them to assist me in the enterprise on which I was. I told them what I had done, and how; for nothing in the world (I said to them) could keep me from helping the King of Castile, since I had promised to assist him. I entreated them earnestly to furnish grain and cattle that I might provision the army with. They said they would deliberate about it; they could not do that till next day, but would immediately after give me an answer.

CCCCVII.

In less than an hour the townspeople came back, and Gil Sanchez Munyoz made answer for all: "My lord," he said, "you know well that what "you commanded or asked of us has never met "with a refusal; it never did, nor will it now. We

[1] "E enviam mensatge a nostres fiyls." King James had at this time several sons living.

"will supply[1] three thousand loads of corn (a "thousand of wheat and two thousand of barley), "twenty thousand sheep, and two thousand cows; "and if more is wanted take it from us as a loan." I answered, that I gave them great thanks for their offers, and that I knew them to be good vassals, who loved their lord and trusted much in him. They told me to give them one of my bailiffs[2] to go with them through the villages, and they would take the grain wherever they found it; that they would arrange matters in such a way that when I left Valencia with my host I should have it all. I gave them a bailiff to go with them, and departed from them very much satisfied with the love they had expressed and the way in which they had shown it.

CCCCVIII.

At Valencia I also spoke with the chief men of the city, and prayed them to remember how they had been settled there by me from the time it was God's will that I should conquer the place; how it was that I trusted more on them than on any

[1] "Emprestaremos iii. mil car- "gas de pan e mil de trigo e ii. "mil de ordio," &c. Probably by the 3,000 loads (mule) of "bread" 1,000 of wheat and 2,000 of barley are meant. I have usually translated *pa* as corn, "bread stuffs." The men of Lérida, it must be remembered, spoke Spanish, not Catalan. Instead of "dos mil vaquas" the reprint of Barcelona has "et iii. milia vacas."

[2] "E ells dixeren quels donas- sem, porter"; *i.e.* "a gentleman usher of mine, or an alguazil."

others for help in assisting the King of Castile against his rebellious subjects. Since I had departed from them (the Valencians) I had lost much of my influence in my other states.[1] I entreated them as earnestly as I could to remember that I had settled them there, and I begged them to give me such aid as might enable me to carry out that enterprise with honour and reputation; they had hitherto shared my honour, and this campaign would certainly be one of the most honourable and important made during my reign. They said they would consult, and come again next day before me, for they wished to do the most they could for me.

CCCCIX.

Next day they came and said that I should tell them what I wanted of them, for they were ready to do my will. I told them that I wanted corn, wine, and barley. "I beg you to do "this: go through the town, and let him who has "corn, reserving what he wants for his household "sustenance in a year, lend me the rest. And if "there be any dealers in that article, let them lend "their corn to me, and I will give them what "security they want. Let you and the townsmen "help me in this, and disclose to my bailiff[2] where

[1] "Perço car de tots los altres "de nostra terra nos erem de- "sexits, pus en Valencia erem."

[2] "E quens hi siats uos bons, e "quens ho descubrats de la on ho "sabrets."

"such dealers may be." They said that they would willingly do this for me, for they saw that I stood in need of it; they knew the pressure and the want as well as the dishonour and mischief that might befall them and me, if they did not comply with my request. They did so, and furnished all I wanted. Then there came the Infante En Jacme,[1] En Ramon de Moncada, and other companies whom I do not remember. I went to Xativa and from Xativa to Biar.

CCCCX.

At Biar I sent word to the Saracens of Villena,[2] desiring and commanding them early next morning to come out to meet me. In the morning I myself went to the place, and they came out to me. There I took them aside (they were thirty of the best people of the town), and asked how they came to do such a thing as rising against their lord, Don Manuel. Though they had committed a great error, I would (I said) accept their excuses, and would willingly persuade him to pardon them, for he depended so much on me that he would do what I said. If they refused, I should be obliged to use violence against them, and they must know well that they could not defend themselves against

[1] The "Infante en Jacme," his son.

[2] Written "Billena," a town in the province of Murcia which belonged once to the Infante Don Manuel, son of Ferdinand III., and brother of Alfonso X., or "the Learned."

my power. Therefore it were better for them that I should reconcile them with En Manuel, and that they should stay in their houses and hereditaments rather than have to desert them and go to foreign lands, where they might not be able to gain a livelihood nor find any one to help them. They told me that they thanked me much for what I had said, but that En Manuel's bad behaviour to them had forced them to rise against him. They further said that I might return to Biar, and at night they would make answer.

CCCCXI.

That night they sent me two Saracens, one of whom knew "romance,"[1] and the answer was, that if next day I went again to Villena they would all swear on their Law that when Don Manuel came there they would treat with me to this effect. If I got him to pardon what they had done, they would at once surrender the town; if, on the contrary, Don Manuel did not pardon them, they should not be held to execute that condition of the treaty. If, on the other hand, I would promise on oath to keep Villena, and not give it up to the King of Castile or to Don Manuel, but would go there myself, they would surrender it to me.

[1] Era latinat; referring to the languages of the Christians as derived from Latin. At Tetuan the Spanish-speaking Jews call their language Latin at this day.

I told them that I thanked them much for what they said; that next morning I would meet them at Villena, and would so deal with them that they should be satisfied with me; that I would have agreements and deeds then drawn out between them and me. And I gave the one who knew "romance" a hundred bezants, that he might be in my favour. He said that with God's help he would do what I wished. I gave him the money in secret, so that the other one knew nothing of it.

CCCCXII.

Next morning I went to Villena, and made written agreements with them, that they should surrender the town to En Manuel, when he came, and that I would induce him to pardon them, and to observe the first capitulations made with them. When the agreement was drawn and completed, all in Villena of twenty years old and upwards took oath to me to observe what had been stipulated.

CCCCXIII.

From Villena I went to Elda[1]; I did not take up my quarters in the town, because the Saracens there had not duly surrendered to Don Manuel, to whom they belonged. They sent to me to beg that no one would lay their lands waste, or do them

[1] In the Barcelona reprint Ella.

hurt, for they would readily submit to my will. They applied to me for porters and men to protect their (*horta*) gardens and themselves from harm, and I willingly gave them.

CCCCXIV.

I had sent a messenger to Petrer, which En Jofre[1] had lost, and there came two sheikhs to me and a Jew, who was there in the time of En Jofre. The Saracens had not meddled with the Jew at all, or done him any hurt. I treated with them for the surrender of the castle to me, that I might return it to its legitimate owner, En Jofre. Their answer was that they had revolted merely on account of the bad treatment they had received at the hands of En Jofre. If I only would swear to them to keep the castle for myself, they would willingly surrender it to me; but they were afraid of En Jofre. I answered them that I would pledge my word to them, that before I passed the town over to En Jofre I would provide that the agreements first made with them should be kept. It would not be seemly that I should come there to help the King of Castile; I should keep for myself the castles that belonged to him, and to those that held them for him. Their reply was that they would go back to consult on it, and would give me an answer in

[1] Geoffrey de Loaisa, an officer of the King of Castile.

the evening. They accordingly came back nearly at sunset, and said that since I so much wished it, they would do as I pleased. When morning came, I advanced with my knights to meet them, made the people of En Jofre hoist my flag on the castle, and then gave it over to them.

CCCCXV.

Next day I went to Nonpot, a village of Alicante; and the day after to Alicante, and there I set my company in order. While at Alicante, I caused my sons, that is the Infantes En Pedro and En Jacme, the Bishop of Barcelona, and the barons of Aragon and Catalonia, to assemble in the new church outside the walls of Alicante, not in the great church.[1] The knights also were there, and I told them that I was about to enter the country of the King of Castile's conquest, and that I wished to give them instructions how to conduct themselves when under arms, and in other matters.

First, that when armed and on march, no one should go into action, or use his arms, without precise orders from me; if necessity for fighting arose, no one should advance without my command; and if the cry was raised, "ON, ON! the Moors are attacking such a place," all should take up arms,

[1] "En la esgleya Dalacant (de "Alacant), en la nouela, de fora, "no en la major." The Collegiate of Alicante was originally a mosque; sometime during the sixteenth century it became a cathedral.

and rally round me; then I would give orders as to what they should do. If in the camp, at night, and the cry "To arms!" obliged the men to arise, all should arm themselves, and those who had horses should equip and arm them, and then come to my tent, or to my house if I was in one. For nothing in the world should any one, in battle or otherwise, leave the ranks without my express command. And above all they should take care not to quarrel among themselves, or with others; for quarrelling is the very worst thing that can happen in the host of a king or a lord. One man might put the whole force to the risk of death or ruin, for the enemy might come down suddenly and sweep away all who remain alive. Should any question arise between knights, or otherwise, let them go to two of their class, who may bring the affair before me for judgment, and I will see that he who has done the other wrong shall repair it at once; and if they themselves cannot settle their differences, let them come to me, for I can; quarrels and disputes in this world are but questions of "Yes" or "No." No one should take justice in his hands against another, while there are lords and judges. If either of the two wishes to fight, I will give him elsewhere enough to satisfy his desire;[1] otherwise he might

[1] "Car si *negu* vol fer darmes "*nin* es desijos, nos lo adurem a "punt e a sao quen perdra lo "desig que en haura. E tal cosa "ne porien ells fer per lur rauata "que tota nostra ost ne poyriem "nos pardre o afolar." The words *negu* and *nin*, which I have itali-

do something that would lose me and the army, or throw it into confusion, or force me to give up the campaign. Wherefore, I pray you and command you, on pain of treason and forfeiture of my love, that you do not transgress this commandment of mine.

CCCCXVI.

After this my address to the assembly, I sent a message to Elx (Elche), by a dragoman of mine with La Exea,[1] and a letter from me bidding them to send me two or three of the principal Saracens of the town, that I might confer with them. If they chose, I would do them no harm ; I did not wish it ; I would rather help to keep them in safety. The people of Elche sent me Mahomet Haguingalip and another.[2] When they came, they saluted me on behalf of the sheikhs, and "aljama" of Elche. I

cised, would change considerably the meaning of this passage.

[1] The word translated by dragoman is *trujaman*, in Castilian *truchiman*, both of which are derived from the Arabic ترجمان, *turdjiman*. *La Exea* seems to have been the name of a Jewish interpreter of the King. The text says, "E enviam mis-"satge a Elx per i trujuman "nostre ab la Exea, ab nostra "carta." Again, the name of this Jew appears in the *Chronicle* as employed in similar messages, whence I conclude that he was attached to the court of James, and could speak Arabic, as most of those who had lived among the Moors did. Perhaps he was a native of Exea in Aragon, and hence his name.

[2] Mahomet e Haguingalib ab un altre, says the edition of 1557, thus making the messengers *three* instead of *two*. That of Barcelona, "Mahomet Abingalip ab un altre," which is decidedly a better reading, inasmuch as محمد ابن غالب, Mohammad Ibn Gálib, is a very common name amongst the Spanish Moors.

said to them: "May God bless you: I make it "known to you that I sent for you for this reason. "I believe you know that when the people of "your creed made war against me, the Lord "God helped me against them, and that victory "always attended my enterprises. As to those who "desired peace, and who wished to put themselves "at my mercy, you also know how rightly merciful "I was to them, and how faithfully I kept my "engagements to them, unless they did by their "own fault forsake my friendship. Now I have "come into this country with these two purposes: "those who rise against me and will not sub- "mit, I will conquer, and they shall die by the "sword; those who will put themselves at my "mercy, shall receive it completely; they shall stay "in their houses, and keep their possessions and "their Law. I will get the King of Castile and "Don Manuel to observe the agreements they "made with you, and your customs, according to "the capitulation and treaties existing between "you; if the King and Don Manuel have broken "any condition, they will make it good to you."

CCCCXVII.

To this the Saracen replied, that he thanked God and me for the good words I had just spoken to them, and that they had hoped as much from me; for they had heard it said how those who trusted

in me were for ever safe, and likewise that I never broke faith with their countrymen, but kept the promises made them. They asked me to give them a safe-conduct on their return to Elche. They would certainly inform the "aljama"[1] of the good words I had said to them, and would then come back to me. They accordingly went, and told the "aljama" what I had said. When they had done that they returned, and related what had been said in the town. I then said to the Saracen named Mahomet,[2] that I wished to speak to him in private. I took him apart, and begged him to take charge of my interests. I promised to give him, besides what he himself possessed in Elche, enough for him and his family to be rich for ever; that he should have charge of the town and its revenues first for me and afterwards for En Manuel. I then dropped into the sleeve of his gown three hundred besants, which I had by me: he was delighted, and promised on his Law that he would do all he could for my advantage.

CCCCXVIII.

Next day Mahomet came again with a safe-conduct I had given him, bringing a letter from

[1] Aljama, الجمعة, properly speaking the assembly of notables, or chief men, of a place. It corresponds perfectly to the Spanish "ayuntamiento."

[2] "E nos dixem a aquel Sarrahi, Mahomet per nom."

the sheikhs of the town as to what I should do, and what I should not do. These were the things they asked: one that they should remain there with all their possessions; another that they might observe their Law as to crying from the top of their mosque [the hour of prayer]; another, that they might be judged according to Saracen customs, and not be summoned into a Christian court,[1] the Saracens being their judges, as in the time of the Miramamolin.[2] These terms I granted, and assured them besides that if they had given offence to Don Manuel, I would get the King of Castile and Don Manuel himself to pardon it, and to observe the terms of capitulation just made with me. Then they said that on the very day of my arrival at Elche they would surrender to me the tower called Calahorra, and would moreover conclude and sign the agreement just made with all its conditions. I on my side promised that when I passed that way I would certainly observe all these terms.

CCCCXIX.

Nothing of this would I disclose to the barons, but caused the Infante En Pedro, the Infante En Jacme, the Bishop of Barcelona and the rest, to

[1] "Que no fossen forçats per ningun Chrestia."

[2] It is hardly necessary to say that Miramamolin is a compound of two Arabic words; امير, *amir*, a "prince," and المومنين, *al-mumenín*, the "faithful," the *n* having been turned into *l*. See above, p. 161.

be summoned to a meeting.[1] About this time, too, two galleys I had fitted out brought as prizes two ships loaded with grain, worth fully fifty thousand sous. I asked the above-named barons for counsel as to what we should do, and where we should go next. It was the advice of all that I should go to Elche, for this reason, that it was on the road and we could take it on the way from Alicante to Murcia and Orihuela: thereon I said that I would go to Elche and treat with the inhabitants, and that Our Lord would perhaps favour us so far as to make the people surrender to us. I would not disclose what my agreement with Mahomet was from fear the barons should hinder it. I told them that I would rather have Elche than Murcia, for it produced more corn.

CCCCXX.

When it had been agreed on what day the camp was to move, I said that I would go in advance with a hundred knights and see if the people of Elche would surrender quietly; if they did not, I would deliberate as to what had better be done, either to pass by or besiege the place. I accordingly advanced, and as soon as I got there the sheikhs and the chief men of the town, up to fifty in number, came out and handed over to me the

[1] "Faem cridar" are the words used, which would imply that the summons was made through a public crier

writings and agreement that had been settled between me and their messenger, declaring at the same time that they and all the people of the town would faithfully observe them. When the army came up, they found the Saracens already with me, I had signed the deeds, and they had taken their oath of allegiance to me on the conditions stipulated at Alicante; and my people marvelled much how I had despatched this matter so quickly. It was then the hour of vespers, and the Moors begged me to wait till next morning, as all the Saracens in the town might then come out to me, when I would give them the conditions in writing, and they would surrender to me the Calahorra, which is the strongest tower of Elche.[1] I waited, as they asked.

[1] "E quens rendrien la torre "de Calahorre ques lo pus fort "loch de Helx." Several towers of this name are still extant in various parts of Spain. There is the Calahorra of Cordoba, that of Toledo, and one besides in Granada, within the very precincts of the Alhambra. Generally speaking the *Calahorra* was a strong tower, detached from the walls, and serving in most cases to defend the passage of a bridge or pont levis; in fact, such a tower as that which Spaniards of the fifteenth century would call "torre exenta" and "torre albarrana." The two words قلعة, *calaâ* (castle, tower), and حرّة, *horra* (free), might through corruption have degenerated into *Calahorra*, but whenever that word is used by Mauro-Hispano writers, and we might quote many instances of it, it is always found under the form of قاهرة, which in my opinion is not an Arabic root. As to the city of Calahorra in Aragon, the *Calagurris Julia* of the Romans, I believe its name to be one of those coincidences of sound so common in old languages, and which have so much puzzled etymologists.

CCCCXXI.

Next morning the capitulation was drawn out, and by the hour of tierce all the agreements and the rest of the deeds had been signed, and the Calahorra was in my power. In this manner did Elche surrender. I left there the Bishop of Barcelona to protect the inhabitants and see that no one might lay waste their lands.

CCCCXXII.

All that being done, I went that day to Orihuela, leaving in Elche En Astruch de Bonsenyor,[1] to bring me the deeds and capitulation between me and the Saracens of that town. At Orihuela there came to me the son of Ibn Hud,[2] the Rais of Crivillen; he told me that his father was a prisoner to the King of Castile, and that he came to me prepared to do whatever I ordered in order that my people might enter Crivillen in perfect safety; that he came to me to surrender the two castles he held, and that I could use his resources as my own. In this manner I got back everything I had lost, from Villena down to Orihuela, and from

[1] Nastruch Bonsenyor is the reading of the modern edition. Bonsenyor means "good lord."

[2] Lo fyll de Banud lo Arraiz. This Banud, or Ben Hud, was a prince of the family of Hud (Beni Hud). See Appendix C.

Alicante to Orihuela, so that any one could go along the roads, safe and sound.

CCCCXXIII.

When I had been eight days in Orihuela, there came one night two Almogavars[1] from Lorca, knocking at my gate; it was then near midnight. They said that the people of Lorca sent me word that eight hundred light horsemen, with two thousand loaded mules and two thousand armed men to escort them, were about to throw supplies into Murcia; they had passed by Lorca at sunset; if I made a sally, I could easily get possession of the whole baggage train; the men might perhaps escape, for they rode fleet mares and horses. When I heard this, I ordered the porters to rise at once, and call the Infante En Pedro, the Infante En Jacme, Don Manuel, the Master of Uclés, and him who was the substitute of the Master of the Hospital, Don Alfonso Garcia, and the rest of the barons, and tell them to prepare to get to horse, and go to the bridge gate, where they would find me. Such and such a message had come from Lorca, and it was necessary to start almost immediately. They were to carry provisions for one day. I myself left the camp with my train, and when I had crossed the bridge over the river called Segura, waited

[1] The meaning of the word "Almogavar" has already been explained. See also Appendix B at the end of the volume.

outside for them. When my sons and the others came, we went on altogether, and at dawn were at a small village (*alqueria*) between Murcia and the mountains, on the road to Cartagena, at a place where, on the hill above the village, the kings of Murcia and Ibn Hud himself were buried.[1]

CCCCXXIV.

When it was daylight we held a council on what we should do. The Infante Don Pedro, the Infante Don Jacme, Don Manuel, the Master of Uclés, Don Pedro Guzman, and Don Alfonso Garcia were at that council; they thought it best to move thence, and send scouts out to report if the enemy was really coming on or not. I did not think that counsel good. I said that the practice of light Moorish horse[2] with those whom they encountered, was to keep riding round and round the heavy armed horse until they actually tired them. I would have one hundred armoured horse of my household, and some more not fully equipped;[3] in the van should be my two sons, whilst Don

[1] "E quan foren venguts anam "nos en, e quan se feya alba, "fom a vna alqueria qui es entre "Murcia e la montanya com hom "ua a Cartagenia, on soterrauen "los Reys de Murcia, e en i. "puget qui ha sobre la alqueria, e "Abenhut quey jau." Mohammad Ibn Hud, King of Murcia, died in 1237. See Al-makkarí, *History of Spain*, vol. ii. pp. 326—338, 530, 531.

[2] "Que segons la manera dels "genets, la qual solien fer ab "aquels ab quis encontrauen, quels "cansauen anan en torn daquels "que tenien cauals armats."

[3] "Mas que tenriem C cauals "armats de nostra maynada, e tots "los altres que nols armassen."

Manuel, the Master of Uclés, and Don Pedro Guzman should be on the flank; I with one hundred armoured horse would keep the rear guard. If we met with the Moorish light horse, no one was to charge till I ordered the trumpets to sound. When they heard the trumpets sound, such as had unarmoured horses were to leave the ranks and go at them, and not leave them till they were all killed or taken. I would follow with my armoured horse and gather up what remained in the field. All approved of this counsel, and prepared to act as they were bid.

CCCCXXV.

When the council broke up, I sent En Rocafull and five knights more to espy [1] if the Moors were coming or not. He soon confirmed the fact, and besides which the Master of Uclés, Don Pedro Guzman, and Don Alfonso Garcia, said to me: "My lord, think of getting to horse and moving, "for behold! the Moors are approaching fast." I said, "Master of Uclés, I see no need to

[1] The words used are "ques anas *talayar* si uenien o si no." The verb *talayar*, in Spanish "atalayar," is to overlook and observe the country or sea-coast from the top of a watch-tower, or eminence. Both are derived from *atalaya*, in Arabic, طليعة with the article *al* turned into *at;* meaning a "watch-tower," or eminence overlooking the surrounding country. When such towers were used for the purpose of making signals and lighting fires they were called "almenaras," from منارة, "fire-tower," "minaret."

"hurry; let the Moors come down into the plain, "so that we may get between them and the "city; however speedy their flight may be, we "shall yet get hold of their mules, and of the foot-"men that escort them; many surprises fail by over "haste to attack." The Master said, "Do not "tarry, my lord, for God's sake; you do not know "what these genets are; when you think they are "about to enter the garden plain,[1] in a twinkling "of the eye they will be inside the city, and you "will get nothing at all." I said to him, "And yet, Master, I will get the mules and the footmen." "Do not believe it," replied the Master of Uclés, "for they are by this time almost inside the "city; and if so it will be a wonder to me if "you can overtake them." So much did he urge me on that he made me move. When outside the camp I unfurled my banners and arranged my line of battle with the van and flank as aforesaid, keeping with my hundred armoured horse in the rear.

CCCCXXVI.

We were thus formed outside the town, when lo! an Almugavar came and said, "My lord, a gift for my good news!" I said, "What are they?" "Behold! the Moors are coming!" I said to

[1] "Haurem nos les azembles, e aquels de peu." On the meaning of the word *azembles*, see Appendix G at the end of the volume.

him, "Friend, let us first win the fight, and then I will give you your reward." The Bishop of Barcelona was with me at the time. I sent for Friar Arnau de Sagarra, a Dominican preacher, and told him I wished to confess my sins to him. He agreed and said to me, "Go on, and say what you have to say." I told him that I was not aware of any offence against Our Lord, save that matter only of Doña Berenguela; that I intended henceforwards to live with her without sin, and as a man ought to be with his wife.[1] He knew very well that I intended conquering Murcia and all that kingdom, and the good service I would render by restoring that country to the Christians. I thought my good purpose should avail me, so that if sin there was, it should not bear me harm in the day of battle. I asked him for absolution from the sin I had confessed. Friar Arnau said to me, "Mortal sin is a great matter; but since, "you promise to remove it from you, I will give "you absolution." I told him that I went into the battle with the firm belief that I should get out of mortal sin in one way or another; that I would serve God so well that day and in that conquest that He would pardon me, besides which I had no ill will to any one; that was, I thought, sufficient. He hesitated; I told him to give me

[1] "Naviem en cor de esser ab ella menys de pecat, e axi com hom deu esser ab sa muller."

his benediction, and that I commended myself to God, and he did it.

CCCCXXVII.

Having told Friar Arnau that I wanted to go to the van and see my sons, he took leave and went away. I myself with one knight went to my sons, and made them and the others halt. And in presence of all, I said, "Sons, you know whence "you come, and who your father is; do behave "in arms this day so that all the world may "say who you are and of whom you come; if "not, I declare before God that I will take away "what I gave you." Then the Infante Don Pedro and the Infante Don Jacme said together that they would remember whence they came and the father they had, and that they would behave in such a manner as not to deserve the above punishment.

CCCCXXVIII.

Then I went back to the rear guard, and when I was in battle array, En Berenguer de Vilanova, a knight of Catalonia, addressed his men and said, "Catalans, by your faith in God "remember so to behave on this occasion that "all the world shall speak of us." All who heard applauded. I then went forward, and saw in the distance the dust raised by the enemy. Soon

after a message came to me saying that they were actually flying and turning back. Some of my barons advised that we should go in pursuit. I told them that I would not; Alfama was only four leagues off; the Moors were fully eight hundred light horse, and had besides two thousand footmen with them. In Alfama there were six or seven hundred more. If our horse, tired by their course, could not overtake the footmen, there would be a charge and a fight; the enemy might sally forth from the fortress and castle of Alfama and help their countrymen. They might perhaps drive us away from the town, me and mine;[1] wherefore I forbade altogether the pursuit.

CCCCXXIX.

Thence I went to a place called Laliarancella,[2] accompanied by my sons, by the Master of Uclés, En Pedro de Queralt, the Master of the Temple, Hugh de Malavespa, the Master of the Hospital, and others. I sent for the barons above named, and asked for their advice as to what to do next. My sons and the barons of my native kingdom (Aragon) said that the Master of Uclés, Don Pedro

[1] "E quan los nostres caual-"lers serien la hujats serien, e "noy porien be aconseguir los "homens de peu, e per força "hauria a ser la brocada." Alfama or Alhama الحمة is in the province of Murcia.

[2] "La Cantarela" in the modern revised edition. "Alcantarilla" (?) in the province of Murcia.

Guzman and Don Alfonso Garcia should speak first as knowing better the locality in which we were. The Master said that we could easily take the castle of Alfama, if we chose to lay siege to it; by setting up an engine we could very well do it within a few days. Then Don Alfonso Garcia was requested to speak. He said, "Let Don Pedro Guzman speak first;" but Don Pedro said that he knew nothing about Alfama; that Don Alfonso Garcia had once held that country for the King of Castile, and therefore knew more than he did about it. Don Alfonso Garcia then said: "I will tell you "what I know, for in reality I once held the place." Then they said to him, "So you know Alfama better than any one else?" He answered, "Yes, "I do. I will tell you what, if the king will set "up an 'almajanech' or war engine on the hill "beside Alfama, he will certainly take the town "in eight days;" on which all said it would be well to do so.

CCCCXXX.

I then said, "Barons, I see three things against "that proposal: firstly, that on a certain day I am "to meet the King of Castile at Alcaraz, and "there are only seven days between this and the "one fixed for the interview. As the castle itself "is situated on the ridge of the mountain there is "no room for the 'almajanech,' except on the hill

" itself. Secondly, the Moors can hold and defend " castles as well as any man in the world, so that " I do not think I can take the place, and keep my " appointment with the King of Castile. Indeed, I " do not believe that the castle and town of Alfama " can be taken in less than a month, for the Moors, ' I am told, have two thousand loads of wheat, and " great means of defence besides. Thirdly, Murcia " is between us and Orihuela, and in it is a great " force of horse and foot. If they happen to come " to Alfama, it will be very difficult for us to manage " the mules and beasts of burden.[1] Fourthly, we " have no food but for one day, for we came here to " give battle to the Moors, and so we carried no meat " —battles are quickly fought, and God gives victory " to whom He pleases. For all which reasons it is " better council and sounder that I go to see the " King of Castile, and consult him as to what had " better be done about Murcia." My sons and those who were with me felt that I said well, and next day we went back to Orihuela.

CCCCXXXI.

Whilst we were in Orihuela, at sunset, there was seen from the castle a great dust as of companies

[1] " Les regnes serien males de girar ; " the reins would be ill to turn," says the edition of 1557 ; the more modern of Barcelona, "les reques serien males de guiar" as translated. *Reques*, in Spanish, " recuas," are the strings of mules tied one to another, as in the present day. It is again an Arabic word, رقوة.

of armed men going from Alfama to Murcia ; and a report was in the town that the Moorish horse were actually taking the convoy into Murcia. My sons, the Masters of Uclés, and of the Hospital, and the rest of the barons came to me, and said that they had seen a great dust rising between Alfama and Murcia, caused by the Moorish horse, and that they thought it best to arm what horses they had in their respective trains, and go out against the Moors ; thus we should at least get the convoy they were taking into Murcia. I told them that I did not approve of that, for several reasons ; it was late in the day, and when we got there it would be dark. Another reason was, that the Moorish horse were very swift, and ours were tired. So it might come to pass on our arrival at the garden (*horta*) of Murcia, where there were many and very dangerous watercourses, the Moorish horse and foot, coming out of that city to join the others might defeat us, or do us great harm ; and thus our plans and preparations for the taking of Murcia might be ruined for ever. "I really believe," said I to them, "that the dust is only raised by the "wind, for as we marched to-day there was "much more of it ; but let us suppose for one "moment that it is produced by the horsemen "escorting the convoy into Murcia, and that they "succeed in their undertaking, two thousand loads "of corn will only last the Murcians ten days, for

" they must consume at least two hundred a day. We " should gain nothing by getting hold of the corn, " as we ourselves would have to consume it in going " to see the King of Castile." When I was left alone[1] with my sons, they said to me that I was spoiling the campaign. I told them they did not speak the truth, for the kingdom would be won by what I said and did, whereas it would be lost by what they said and did; they were not to think that I would even attempt what they wished. Indeed, I found afterwards that what they spoke of as dust raised by the Moorish horse taking the convoy into the place, turned out to be simply dust raised by the wind, and that no supplies did then reach the town.

CCCCXXXII.

I accordingly departed thence and went to Alcaraz,[2] my sons and three hundred knights with me, and on the appointed day met the king, Don Alfonso, in that town. Before I entered, the King of Castile came out to meet me, fully a league off. There might be with him about sixty knights; I myself had upwards of three hundred with me. I

[1] "Quant fom apparellats ab nostres fills" in the edition of 1557; the second has, "E aixi "quen fom a paraules ab nostres "fiyls, e ells dixeren."

[2] Alcaraz in the province of Albacete. Both editions of the *Chronicle* have Alcarraç.

had left behind at Orihuela three hundred more, besides the Almugavars, perhaps two hundred of them. When the king saw me, he was very glad of my coming. I found in Alcaraz the Queen, and her daughters, Doña Berenguela[1] and [Doña Beatriz] Alfonso,[2] who came afterwards with me [to Aragon] We had a long conference on the subject of the Saracens, and I stayed there eight days with great joy and disport.

CCCCXXXIII.

Then I went to Orihuela, and on the road there had a skirmish with some Moorish horse.[3] After that Don Manuel came to me; he came because of the promise the Saracens of Villena had made of

[1] "E Doña Berenguera Alfonso qui sen ven puys ab nos."

[2] Alfonso X., of Castile, or "the Learned," as he is generally surnamed, ascended the throne of Castile in 1252. Six years before, in 1246, he had married James's eldest daughter, Yoland, or as Mariana calls her, Doña Violante. At this time (1265) he had two daughters, Doña Berenguela (Berenguera) and Doña Beatriz (Beatrix), who afterwards married William (Guglielmo) VII., Marquis of Monferrat. The text of the *Chronicle* offers various readings, for the printed copy of 1557 says: "E trobam en Alcarraç la Regina e ses filles *Berenguera e Alfonso*," whereas the more carefully printed edition of Barcelona has: "*E Doña Berenguera Alfonso*." However this may be, if the king had with him his two daughters they must be the two above-named, for Yoland, Isabella, and Leonor, were not born before 1268. Beatrix used besides her father's name, and is sometimes called Beatriz *Alfonso*, as her sister Berenguela *Alfonso*.

[3] "E en la carrera haguem una poca de rauata de genets." The word "rauata" is the same as the Spanish "rebato," meaning incursion, raid, foray. It is Arabic, from the root ربط, whence ribete, rapita, arrebatar, and many others.

surrendering the town to him if he came; if he did not, that they would deliver the town to me. I gave the Saracens of Villena notice that I was coming, and Don Manuel with me; they, however, would not come out to meet him, and therefore broke the treaty and the oath they had sworn on their Law. From Villena I went to Nonpot, and from Nonpot to Elche. Whilst at the latter place, the tower called La Calahorra and the whole town was delivered to Don Manuel. Next day I was at Orihuela, where I found my people content and joyful; they had made raids into the territory of Murcia, and been very successful in some of them. I stayed at Orihuela fifteen days, for I arrived there four days before Christmas and stayed till New Year's Eve.

CCCCXXXIV.

Next day, the first of January, I went to lay siege to Murcia. And in going thither with my host I was among the first, that I might at once set my camp as it ought to be set. For in battle kings should be in the rear guard, whilst in quartering their army they should be foremost, in order to place their men better, so that it may not be necessary afterwards to move them after being rightly placed. Once at the spot, where the "adalid" or guide conducted me, he said to me: "My lord, you

may fix your tent here." When the "adalid" had selected a place for my tent, I asked where Murcia was, and he said it was very near. I asked, "Where is it?" and the "adalid" replied, "I will show you;" and he showed me a city within a crossbow shot of the spot where we were. I said to him, "Sir adalid, "you have given me right perilous quarters; but "since you have given them to me, know that I "will keep them, or it shall cost us dearly."

CCCCXXXV.

Withal as I began to set up the camp, the Saracens sallied out. And my people said to me: "My lord, they shoot hard at us with arrows and "with stones, and have already hurt several men "and beasts." I said, "I know well the way of "these Saracens; if we bear it for a day or two "they will not repeat their attack; wait till the "army comes up, and I will give you some cross-"bowmen to do as they do;" I accordingly gave them thirty crossbowmen. I kept besides a number of horsemen well armed stationed at the gates of the camp, to defend them from the attacks of the enemy. When they saw the sun about to set, the Saracens went into the city, and did not come back next day, nor did they make a sally against our camp for a whole month.

CCCCXXXVI.

Then I sent there the Exea [1] with a Saracen to tell the Alguazir [2] (the King's prime minister) to come out to me; that I wished to speak with him for his good and for that of the townspeople. The Alguazir's answer was that if I would send him one of my knights he would come. I sent him a knight named Domingo Lopez, who was a settler in Murviedro and knew Arabic well, and En Astruch, a Jew, who was my Arabic interpreter and secretary. Then the Alguazir and one of the chief Moorish knights, for King Alfonso of Castile had made them both knights, came out to me. When I knew they were coming, I had my house [3] hung with good cloths and caused good couches to be prepared; live fowls, sheep, and kids to be got ready, so as to be slaughtered on the arrival of the Alguazir and his companion.

[1] "Ab tant enviam lains la Exea ab i sarray," says here the text of both editions; but I have been unable to find out what the author meant by "La Exea." Is it a proper name? In another passage of this *Chronicle* the word is used as if it meant "a seal."

[2] It is hardly necessary to observe that الوزير, which in Arabic means "he who bears or supports the weight of the administration," gave origin to the Spanish word *alguacir*, now turned into *alguacil* by the change of *r* into *l*, and having quite a different meaning.

[3] The word here used is *casa*: "E faem encortinar nostra casa "de bons draps, e fer bon bons "setis;" but as James was still encamped before Murcia, and it was there that he received the guacir, I should say that *tent* not *house* is meant.

CCCCXXXVII.

I was sitting [in my tent] when the two Murcians came; they saluted me, knelt, and kissed my hand. I then bid every one leave the tent, except them two and En Astruch, the Jew above-mentioned, who acted as interpreter. I told them my reasons for sending for them. They knew very well that I had many Saracen vassals in my dominions, and that in old times the royal family from which I was descended had them also in Aragon and in Catalonia, and I myself in the kingdoms both of Valencia and Mallorca, lately conquered. All had their laws, and had been respected as if they lived in the land of the Saracens, that is the people who had put themselves at my mercy and had submitted to me, for those who would not surrender I took their land by force and peopled it with Christians. "And as I do not wish you harm or "death, I want to speak first with you, that you "may help me to protect the Saracens of Murcia "and of the whole kingdom. I undertake to obtain "three things for you from the King of Castile: "first, that he shall observe the capitulation and "the charters he has granted you; secondly that he "will keep the agreements you may make with me; "the third, that I will get pardon for you for all "the wrongs you may have done him. I will get

"the King of Castile to put down in writing, sign "and ratify, what I might set forth concerning "them, and that he would observe their treaty "with ourselves. If they would not agree to "that, I came with the resolution not to depart "therefrom till I had the city by force and all its "lands. I did not desire their death or their ruin; "on the contrary, I wished them to live, under sub-"jection, but at peace with the King of Castile, "keep their laws, their customs, and their mosques, "as had been agreed with them at the first "capitulation."

CCCCXXXVIII.

They thanked me for what I had told them, but said that they could not reply without consulting their townsmen; they would make answer to me in three days: that was Wednesday, they would meet on Friday, and on Saturday would come, and bring me a reply. I would not press them for an answer, but assented to what they proposed. Meantime the kids and the fowls were slaughtered [and cooked] for dinner; but they said they would not eat there with me. I told them I would give them cooking pots, entirely new, and they might take the meat, cook it according to their law, and eat it with me. They begged me not to speak of that, or ask them to stay, for the townspeople would

take it ill of them ; but they promised to dine with me on the day of their return, that is, on the Saturday appointed for their coming to me. Thereupon I dismissed them and sent them away.

CCCCXXXIX.

On the Saturday morning they sent to me for an escort ; I sent them one, and they came. I had a dinner ready for them of the dishes above mentioned ; their followers at once set to work to prepare and cook the food. Then came the Alguazir and the knight, whose name I do not remember. Both were very influential men in their town, and the Alguazir specially brought full power, so that anything they might settle with me would be approved by the townsmen. I made every one leave [the tent] except En Astruch and the Saracens. Their answer was that a council had been held with the sheikhs of the town, but they had refused to take into it him who held the Alcazar for the King of Granada. I took this for a good sign, their having kept out of their councils the very man whom the King of Granada had put there, and who was, as it were, their head. They said they had fully explained to the sheikhs and to the learned men of the town what I had proposed to them ; that they thanked me much for the good words conveyed to them, and knew well what good faith and truth they would

find in me, and that they were sure I would keep my engagements and promises; but still they desired to know from me how, in case of their agreeing to surrender the town, they would be preserved in their law. They had, they added, brought with them a letter from the Capitols,[1] praying and telling me how to draw up the charter to them.

CCCCXL.

Thereupon they showed me, in writing, a memorandum of the articles they had laid before the town council, and another of the aldermen's opinions thereon. Many were their demands, of which the following were most important, although, not to lengthen this book beyond measure, I will not put down all those they made at the time. The principal were: that they might follow their religion without molestation, and proclaim from the minarets the customary hours for prayer; and that they might judge and sentence both civil and criminal cases according to their laws and customs, as the King of Castile had promised them; that they should moreover be pardoned for seizing the Alcazar and revolting against the Christians.

[1] *Capitols:* the meetings of "ayuntamientos" (aldermen, or town councils) of a Provençal or Catalan borough; the word is, oddly enough, applied by the king to the sheikhs, or elders, of a Moorish town, though it must have had originally an entirely ecclesiastic meaning. *Cabildo* and *capitulo* are to this day synonymous in the Spanish language to designate the meeting of ecclesiastics, and *sala capitular* is our chapter-house.

If these demands were granted, they would surrender the town to me on the faith of a written capitulation between me and them. I was, moreover, to write a letter to the King of Castile, and my messenger was to escort the Moorish knight they might send along with it; and that letter was to this effect, that the Castilian king should confirm the writings and agreements made with them.

CCCCXLI.

I replied that they should not wait for that in order to surrender both the Alcazar [1] and the town. I would not, I said, despatch a messenger to the King of Castile till they put me in possession of their town; they would gain nothing by the delay they proposed, for I had with me a great company of knights and footmen, who must needs lay waste their lands and every day do them harm; but that what with their wish to surrender, and my good will towards them, there would be no necessity, and no occasion, I hoped, to lay waste their lands [2] or destroy their houses, habitations, injure them or their garden *(orta)*. They might, I said, go back and consult their elders upon it, for they knew well that my

[1] An Arabic word قصر, Kaṣr, with the article al-Kaṣr, meaning a fortified palace.

[2] "E no uoliem quels desfaessen los Reyals ne que los affolassen, ne la orta." The word reyals (in Span. *reales*) is, properly speaking, the camp of an army commanded by the king in person.

advice was for their good and for mine. They said that they would go, and would return next day with an answer.

CCCCXLII.

They accordingly went, and came back on the third day with the answer. They agreed to what I had proposed, but asked how I would divide the town. I said that I would give them all the town above the Alcazar on the side where my camp was. This pleased them much; I fixed a day by which they should evacuate the other part. They said that on the third day they would evacuate the Alcazar, and send away the man whom the King of Granada had set down as Kaid[1] in Murcia; on that day they would do that, and within four days they would give me possession of the Alcazar. And they so acted that on the third day they actually sent away the man who was there for the King of Granada, and left the Alcazar clear for us.

CCCCXLIII.

On the fourth day I sent for fifty knights, with their usual esquires, and their horses armoured, and for one hundred and twenty Tortosan[2] crossbowmen.

[1] Kaid, or governor, for such is the meaning of the word قايد, whence the Span. *al-cayde*.

[2] "Balesters de Tortosa," from ballista, in Spanish *ballesta*, a cross-bow, a βαλλω, to throw. Those of Tortosa (the Dertosa of the Romans) were at this time considered the best.

I ordered them to come to me where I was, on the banks of the Segura river, near the Alcazar. I waited for their coming that they might set my banner up in the Alcazar, and take possession of the towers, so as for me to go up to the town. Meanwhile I prayed to Saint Mary that I might accomplish this my desire, which was that she should be worshipped, and her name blessed therein, and that she would ask this of her dear Son. And yet my people were so long about it, that I began to fear greatly that I should not get the place after all.

CCCCXLIV.

When I had been a good piece there, I at last saw my banner fluttering in the wind on the top of the Alcazar, and I saw the towers well manned with footmen and crossbowmen. I alighted from my horse, and thanked God for His grace; I knelt and wept and kissed the ground, and returned in peace to my quarters. At vespers, the Alguazir came to me and said that everything had been done as I wished, but that the Christians were going into the town, and seizing what they ought not. I said to him that I would send three of my people there to prevent any one going farther than the Alcazar: I myself would go next morning into the town, and, together with the sheikhs, would make a proper division of it.

CCCCXLV.

Next morning, after mass, I went up into the Alcazar, accompanied by the Alguazir and five of the chief Saracens of Murcia. They asked me to divide the town as had been agreed between me and them. I said that from that mosque[1] near the Alcazar down to the gate facing my camp should belong to the Christians, and that the principal mosque itself should fall to our lot. To this they objected, saying that the agreement, as stipulated in the capitulation, was that they were to have their mosques and hold them as in the time of the Saracens. I replied that such was the agreement, but they had not understood the words of the capitulation, for if I were to grant them all their mosques, what would the Christians do without a church to go to? "The Christian church," said I to them, "will be at the very gate of the Alcazar. "That a muezzin should proclaim the sabbath or "the name of Allah[2] close to my head, where I am "sleeping, may seem to you a fit thing, but is not "one of my liking. You have ten more mosques

[1] "La mesquita aquela prop del alcacer." Mesquita, in Spanish *mesguida* and *mezquida*, means a place of worship. See above, page 467.

[2] "E chom crit lo saba çala" in one of the copies; the other has "Que hom crit ala lo sabbá." I prefer the former reading: *lo sabá açala.* At any rate, *sabá* or *sabbá* (sabbath) must here be meant for day of rest, which among Mohammedans is Friday, not Saturday, as among the Jews.

"in the town; you may have your prayers in "all of them, and leave that one to us." They said that they would consult on it.

CCCCXLVI.

I then went back to my quarters, and there came to me my two sons, the Infante En Pedro and the Infante En Jacme, the Master of Uclés, the Bishop of Barcelona, En Pedro de Queralt, the deputy of the Master of the Temple, the Master of the Hospital named En Gui de la Vespa,[1] and other barons in the army; also the Count of Ampurias, En Huguet[2] by name, deputy of his father; En Ramon de Muntaner, Blasco de Alagó, En Joffre (Geoffrey) de Rocaberti, my [natural] son En Pedro Fernandez de Ixer,[3] En G[uerau] de Rocafull, En Carrós, and other barons of the army. They told me that the capitulation granted to the Murcians was unfair, for it was too good for them; what we had taken of the town was so small a part that the Saracens would easily drive the Christians out of it when I was no longer there. According to the capitulation we seemed to have

[1] See above, p. 551, where the name of this "ricohombre," or baron, is given as En Nuch (that is, Hugh) de Malauespa.

[2] Nuguet in the Barcelona edition, which is the equivalent of En Huguet. This, however, must be a diminutive, for his father's name was Hugues.

[3] Dixar, or Dixer; that is, d'Ixar, or from Hijar.

conquered Murcia, and yet had conquered nothing. I told them that they understood the thing wrong; I had been in more Moorish towns than they themselves had, and knew better the ways of Saracens than they did. "When a man (I said) could take "from the enemy, I do not say from Saracens only, "one 'braçada' of land, he can well wait for his "time to take ten or a hundred more." I would willingly and with pleasure give it to them if I could. As they had not been parties to the capitulation, and did not know my secret dealings, they were angry at what I had done.

CCCCXLVII.

Here a dispute arose as to whether in the words of the capitulation granted to the Murcians, we could, or could not, expel them from the town; for the text was "I am bound to keep the Saracens in Murcia." My answer was that, according to law,[1] the suburbs of a town made part of the town itself, and therefore that I could establish them in the Raxaca[2] and in the garden-plain (*orta*). The suburbs of the town, they maintained, are part of it; wherefore I could put them into the Raxaca and into the Horta, which were within the suburbs,

[1] "Quel decret deya."

[2] رشاقة, Raxaca, to this day called Ar-rixáca, one of the suburbs of Murcia.

as well as I could into the town itself; for those places were attached to Murcia, and really formed part of it. I thus could establish them out of Murcia, and in Murcia itself for one of the suburbs, the Raxaca, was in reality a quarter of the city. They said I could not do that. I then sent for Dominican friars, and for the clerks, and proved by decretals that it was as I said. They argued that it was not so that they understood it. I said, "If you do not "choose to understand, I can do no more; but I "will give the town to God, despite of any of you."

CCCCXLVIII.

After that, the Alguazir of the city, and more than twenty of the sheikhs, came to me, and said they begged me not to take possession of the principal mosque, and take it from them, for it was the best place they had for their prayers. I said that just as they wished to have the best place for their prayers, so did we; and the thing could not, nor ought, to be otherwise, for it was a proper thing that we Christians should have a great place for worship since they themselves had so many. They assured me that they could not nor would do anything else but what they had said. Matters came to that pitch between me and them, that I said I was sorry for the evil they would bring on

themselves for not giving their great mosque up, for I would in any case have it; they should therefore return into the city and reconsider the case.

CCCCXLIX.

I ordered the knights in the Alcazar to get under arms, and the hundred and twenty Tortosa cross-bowmen to get ready; if the Murcians would not agree to my demands, the city was to be stormed. When they saw that the thing could not be avoided, the Murcians said they would do my pleasure, and so we had their great mosque.

CCCCL.

When we had got the great mosque, we turned it into a church, and I immediately ordered an altar of Our Lady Saint Mary to be set up in it; for in all the large towns that God had given me to take from the Saracens, I had a church of Our Lady Saint Mary built; and as this city of Murcia was the greatest and most renowned in all Andalusia,[1] except Seville, I wished to do honour to the name of God's mother, and that she should

[1] Andalusia is here used as a generic appellation for Mohammedan Spain (*Andalus*); Murcia and its territory are not within the limits of what is still called "los cuatro reinos de Andalucia," that is, Cordoba, Seville, Jaen and Granada.

be honoured there for ever. On the second day, when the altar was ready, I had it garnished with the dressings of my own chapel, very honourably and nobly indeed. There were with me at the time En Arnau de Gurb, the Bishop of Barcelona, the Bishop of Cartagena, and all the [minor] clergy attached to the army. I had them all dressed in cloaks of samit,[1] and other cloths of gold. And with crosses, and with the image of Our Lady Saint Mary, we all moved from my quarters in the camp, went on foot into the town, and through the streets to the church I had ordered to be built[2] for Our Lady Saint Mary. On our approach to the altar we all were seized with great devotion for the grace and compassion God had shown us at the request and prayer of His Blessed Mother. For I had never passed by Murcia without praying to Him that I might set up there the name of the glorious Virgin Saint Mary; and she, praying her dear Son, caused my wish to be fulfilled. So, embracing the altar, I wept so bitterly and heartily, that for the space of time in which a man could walk a good mile I could not actually leave off weeping nor desert the altar. And yet *Veni, Creator Spiritus* had been sung, and then the

[1] From *Samitum*, which in Low Latin means silk cloth, or brocade, from Syria. In Span. *Xamete*, from Xam (Syria), the *sericus pannus* of the ancients.

[2] "Entro en la esglesia *que* "*hauiem edificada* de nostra dona "sancta Maria."

mass *Salve, Sancta Parens.* That done I went into the Alcazar, and very joyfully took up my quarters there.

CCCCLI.

On the third day[1] I made my sons come to me; also the Bishop of Barcelona, and the barons of Catalonia and Aragon who were with me; and I told them to consider what should be done next. All told the Infante Don Pedro to speak first, and he said that as God had shown us so much grace that we had taken that place and many others, I should at once give the King of Castile notice thereof, that he should take over the city and the country. In that manner, he said, we should sufficiently have performed our duty. Then they told the Infante En Jacme to speak, and he said he agreed entirely with what the Infante En Pedro had said. Then I told the Bishop of Barcelona to say what he thought. He said: "Since you wish me to speak, I will tell you what "I think; I would not send to the King of Castile "at all, but to Alfonso Garcia, who held it once "for the King of Castile, and we shall have "sufficiently done our duty, since we have delivered "it to the person who holds it for him: we are at

[1] In the modern edition of Barcelona, this chapter, or division, is marked 452 instead of 451, as it ought to be. Hence the discrepancy observed in the two texts.

"great expense here, that expense we might save "by going away, but if we remain here longer we "shall all be ruined." Upon which the other barons said that they agreed with that opinion of the bishop.

CCCCLII.

Thereon they asked me to say what I thought of it. I spoke as follows: that I thought the advice of the Bishop of Barcelona good, that is to return the city of Murcia to Don Alfonso Garcia immediately, and that so I intended to do; but as to departing and leaving the country in the hands of such Castilians as Alfonso Garcia and Don Pedro Guzman,[1] that I did not approve. When they came in possession of those places, they lost them; to leave the city of Murcia when the altar of Our Lady Saint Mary had been set up in it, without proper defence, that I would never do on any account. If for our misfortune the Saracens retook it, I should grieve immensely. "Therefore," said I, "I cannot leave the city in that "way, I and the others; for the good that I and "others have received, and God granted to us, "came entirely through her, who prayed her dear "Son for us. So know that for nothing in the "world will I abandon her[2] in this position and

[1] Pere Goçman.

[2] "Sapiats que per re del mon no *la* desempararem." The Catalan pronoun *la* may refer to the town or to Our Lady. I think the King meant to speak of her.

"at this time. I hold with what the Infante Don "Pedro says, that we should give notice to the "King of Castile, how we have restored the city "to Don Alfonso Garcia, and that he should "send him quickly such succour as will enable "him to keep it, and then when he has, not before, "we can depart." They saw plainly that I was determined, and agreed to abide the return of the message, saying, "It will be done as you wish."

CCCCLIII.

Thereupon I sent two "adalids" to the King of Castile with my letters, bidding him take over the city of Murcia and the other castles between Murcia and Lorca to the number of twenty-eight, which had surrendered to me. Murcia was at once restored to Don Alfonso Garcia, and he took possession of the Alcazar and placed his guards in it. I remained beside him till a message came from the King of Castile, saying that he would send his Council, and that soon.[1] He gave me great thanks for the kindness I had shown him, and the love I professed. On that I settled[2] in the land well ten thousand men-at-arms, from my

[1] "Quens enuia a dir que ell hi "enuiaria son conseyl e en breu."

[2] *Poblam*, colonised, gave grants of land to the soldiers. "E sobre "aço poblam hi be x milia homens "d'armes," says the text of both editions; and yet the number seems excessive.

own country and from other parts, to stay there with Don Alfonso Garcia, and aid him in case of need.

CCCCLIV.

Having left the town strengthened in the way I have said, I went to Orihuela, and next day to Alicante. There I had my sons and my nobles before me, and told them that if they pleased they might make a good raid to Almeria before we left that coast. I would give them supplies for ten days; they could go thither in four and come back in four more: the other two days they might stay in the Moorish country if they chose, and, if not, spend them in coming back. They asked how they should transport their provisions, for their mules themselves were already fully loaded with the armour they took on their backs.[1] I told them that this was my way in conquering lands: when I invaded the kingdom of Valencia I took three weeks' provisions in this way: the beasts of burthen were loaded with bread, wine, and barley; the knights rode the horses, and carried their lances in their hands; the shields and some other pieces of armour went on the mules, on the top of all. As they went on the loads decreased, they got the beasts unburthened one by one. My sons said they could not do that. I said, "Why will you

[1] Carrying the armour of the men.

"not do what I myself and those with me did "then?" They replied that at the utmost they could only carry provisions for six days; they required four to return, and therefore on the sixth they should be without food, and the whole army in distress. In short, they would not do what I proposed, and so was the enterprise of Almeria abandoned.

CCCCLV.

After this I deliberated whom to leave on the frontier of Dalacant (Alicante) and Villena, that he might, if needful, succour Murcia by means of fire-signals (*alimara*) from Oriola (Orihuela). I left there Don Artal de Luna and Don Eximen de Urrea with a hundred knights in Alicante; and with them En Berenguer Arnau[1] and En Gralceran de Pinós with seventy more knights at Onteniente and Biar, that they might keep the road safe and sure for those who went by it, and give succour, if needed, at Murcia. From merchants, who were at Alicante, I borrowed money to buy provisions, which I left with them for fully five months. I had left to those in Murcia so good and abundant a provender that the Aragonese knights sold fully the value of thirty thousand sous of what I had

[1] Both editions have Bñg. A., which I take to be a contraction for Berenguer Arnau, as printed.

stored in the place, besides other minor articles all of which belonged to me.

CCCCLVI.

Thereon I returned to the kingdom of Valencia and proceeded to Montpellier.[1] At Gerona I found a great contest going on between the Count of Ampurias and En Ponz G[uerau] de Torrella, on a claim of the Count for Torrella, Postats de Castells,[2] Rocamaura, and another castle, and also for certain dues and money to which the Count was entitled at Torrella, and which En Ponz had received. Having heard the Count's suit and Torrella's answer to it, I departed for Montpellier, and had the case postponed till I should come back, leaving there a scribe to take evidence and record what had been done, when I would give decision on it.

CCCCLVII.

On my return from Montpellier, and when I had reached Perpignan, Don Ferris de Liçana sent me a messenger with a letter, defying me.[3] It happened

[1] This was James's third visit to Montpellier; the first was in 1231, the second in December, 1236, when he settled his dispute with the Bishop of Maguelone, Jean de Montlaur.

[2] "E postats de castells, et de "Rocamaura, e de j altre castell, e "moneda que deuia hauer en "Torreela."

[3] A letter declaring war. Zurita (*Annales*, lib. iii. c. 71) thus explains the circumstance and cause: "Because the truce with "the nobles of Aragon had ex-"pired." He adds that the letter from the King of the Tartars offered King James aid, if he would undertake a crusade against the Saracens.

that on that same day there came to me another letter from the King of Tartars, and so I said to the messenger: "I cannot consider myself affronted "by the letter of Don Ferris, since on this very day "another letter has come from the highest king in "the world, expressing great affection for me. Don "Ferris de Liçana knows well that I am not in the "habit of going after small game; I am used to "hawk herons and bustards; but since he wishes "it, I will this time chase and take a pigeon, if "I can."

CCCCLVIII.

Thence I went to Lerida and spoke with the aldermen *(paers)* and chief men of the town, and asked them to help me against Don Ferris. They said they would gladly do it,—"But what good will "it do?" said they; "you always end by for- "giving your great vassals, and so they are em- "boldened to do you mischief." I said, "You will "see that in this present case I will behave in such "wise that all will go on well." I left the town and went to Monzon, where the men of Tamarit came to me, and said that if I wished they would take a castle in their neighbourhood, called Picamoxo. I said I did wish it. They attacked and took it, and it was immediately demolished.

CCCCLIX.

Thence I went to Liçana,[1] taking two "fonevols" with me. A "brigola"[2] was set up in the place. Don Ferran Sanchez de Castro held the castle for Don Ferris in pursuance of certain obligations and oaths taken by the Aragonese barons to exchange castles one with another and hold against me. He begged me to consent to his sending out of it his men who were there, because, said he, Don Ferris de Liçana wished to garrison the castle with his own men. I agreed to that, for I preferred that Don Ferris's men should be there, since he persisted in doing me harm, while Ferran Sanchez [de Castro] would voluntarily come over to me. The men whom it was wished to put into Liçana instead of the others were then in Alcolesa,[3] and Don Ferris sent in a nephew of his to command them. Some knights and other men of birth went in with him, principally those who had done me most harm, and had ravaged the land with or without him. As they marched by my tent, in order to enter Liçana, as agreed, I recognised some of them who had served in my train. I asked them, "How is it you are going into Liçana? and for whom?" They said, "We are

[1] A small castle near Barbastro, owned by Don Ferriç.

[2] About this and other engines of war consult the Appendix.

[3] In the Barcelona edition Alcoleja.

"going for Don Ferris de Liçana, who is our "lord; since he has ordered it we must obey him "and do his will." I said, "I tell you what; I will "make a prophecy to you: in such wise do you go "there that you will never do harm to me nor to "any one else." They said, "It will be as God pleases." I replied to them, "God pleases what I "tell you, for your sin will bring on you this, that "you will do no harm to me or to any one else."

CCCCLX.

Then they went up into the place, and I sent for two "fonevols," and began setting them up against the walls. They asked for a truce, which I was content to give them while the engines were getting ready; but when one of my "fonevols" was in position, they set up their "brigola," and, regardless of the truce they had made with me, began to shoot. They thought they could reach the camp, but they could not; besides that, the cord of their "brigola" got entangled round the beam. Meanwhile I had caused several slings to be made for the men of my army, and had set up the "fonevol" a little in the rear, so that it might go forward when I wished it to advance. When the besieged, as I say, had shot once with their "brigola," and the cord was entangled, I called all to arms and to attack. Then my men, with their crossbows and slings, did such

execution that those within the town could not work, nor disentangle the rope, or lower the beam of the "brigola," whatever they might do.

CCCCLXI.

Meantime the "fonevol" was pushed forward so that it could reach the "brigola." The master of the "fonevol" shot the first stone and missed the "brigola." I myself went to take charge of it, shot, and hit the "brigola" so hard that its box was broken, and after that blow the besieged could no longer use it. That very evening, after sunset, the master who worked the "fonevol" shot and broke a beam on[1] one side of the "brigola."

CCCCLXII.

Next day I had another "fonevol" set up beside the first, and shot for five or six days, and so damaged the castle that the besieged could no longer defend themselves; for the roofs were broken in, and the stones that fell inside did more harm even than those that struck the wall. So one night, as I was lying in bed (it was the watch of the Infante En Pedro's company), En Berenguer de

[1] "E en aquel vespre ans que "fos nuyt aquel qui fonejaua ach "los trenchat una pertxa de la una "guauta de la brigola." *Fonejar* is to work a slinging engine; *funda, fundibulum, fonevol.*

Viller[1] came up to me and asked, "Are you asleep?" "No," said I, "what is the matter?" "My lord, those inside the place have parleyed; "they say that if you will receive them to quarter, "they will surrender the castle." I said, "They "may leave talking about that, for I certainly will "not receive them to quarter for two reasons: one, "because they have done me great harm and wrong, "and caused me great outlay and expense; the "other, because those in the place are some of the "worst criminals whom Don Ferris had about him. "But if they will come to me unconditionally, and "in such wise that it may be as I like, either give "them quarter or not, then I will receive them, not "otherwise."

CCCCLXIII.

When next day came, as I was standing on a hillock near the ditch, I, the Infante, and a great party of knights, a knight and an esquire, without a safe-conduct, came out of the castle across the ditch. The people of the camp gathering round them, the knight said, "My lord, the Alcaide and "those in the place greet you well, and tell you that "they will yield to you on quarter, and surrender "the castle to you." Hearing that proposal of theirs, I took no one's counsel on it, because I had

[1] Elsewhere Vilert.

already made up my mind what to do with them. So I made answer immediately that I would do nothing of the sort; if they surrendered unconditionally, so that I might do with them as I pleased, even to execute them, I would accept their surrender; if not, let them defend themselves, I would have them at last. They said they would go back, and they went.

CCCCLXIV.

After a time they came again and said they put themselves in my power to do with them as I pleased: telling me to order men to go and take possession of the castle, since from that moment they surrendered it. I took to witness some knights and other people who happened to be there present, that I took them to be dealt with at my discretion, and on no other terms. Then they surrendered the castle; and I hanged over the castle wall those whom it was fit to hang, and on the others, men of birth, we did justice as it ought to be done on men who act so to their lord.[1]

[1] "Penjam per lo mur del Cas-"tell aquells que seyen a penjar, "e dels altres de paratge faem "aquella justicia ques deu fer "domens que aytal cosa fan a lur "senyor." Meaning that the "men of birth" were put to death in a less ignominious way than by hanging, that is, by taking their heads off. Zurita (*Annales*, lib. iii. c. 71) sums up the statement as to all: "E mandó hacer justicia dellos con castigo de muerte."

CCCCLXV.

When that was done, I went to Tarazona, where, in four or five places of the town, false gold coin was made of mine, and of the King of Castile's. Whilst I was there, at Tarazona, I caused an inquisition to be made in two quarters of the town, respecting the coins struck for me, as there had been much talk of it among the people. I made the workmen come before a judge of mine, named Miçer Ombret,[1] accompanied by another. The inquisition at an end, they came to lay their report before me. The judges laboured at it for four days without finding out anything about the coinage, where the coins were made and so forth. One day, on my return from hunting, Miçer Ombret came to me and said, "My lord, what "more do you wish us to do? We can find out no "trace of the coinage, nor where the coins are "made." I said to him, "How can that be? It "is a notorious fact that coin is made here, at Tara-"zona, and yet you cannot find out the truth? "Great marvel is it to me; if the bushes could "speak they might tell us, for since no mint-house "can be found, the coin must be made some-"where among the bushes and torrents of this "neighbourhood."

[1] In the Barcelona edition, Umbert.

CCCCLXVI.

I was in the town, in my own house, thinking how the matter could be discovered, when lo! there came a man who said he wished to speak to me in secret. I sent out of the room all those who were there, and he remained alone with me. He said that a man, whom I well knew, sent to greet me, and that if I would only ensure his safety, he would put me on the way of finding out the truth about the coins; but I was not to do harm to him in person or goods. I told him that he should disclose who it was, and if, through his means, I found out the truth, as he said, I would willingly ensure his safety. The man desired to have a written agreement that no harm should be done to him, and that he would bring the guilty parties before me. An agreement was accordingly made under my hand and his; and when that was done, I said to him, "Now since the "agreement is made and signed, tell me who the man "is." He said, "Marques." I did not know well who he could be, and asked, "Who is Marques?" He replied, "Marques, the clerk, the brother of "Domingo Lopez, the man who had Pedro Perez "killed as he was leaving Tudela."

CCCCLXVII.

I then sent for Miçer Ombret, and he came immediately to me. I said to him, "Miçer Ombret,

"I believe I have found what you and I were "seeking." He asked, "What is it?" I said, "The matter of the coin." "I am right glad "and content," said Ombret, "for it vexed me "much not to be able to find it out." I said, "I "have promised not to hurt the man, for, after all, it "is better to pardon one and learn the truth, than "to leave the business unfinished." I then sent for the man who had made the disclosure, and said to him: "Friend, where is Marques? Could I see "him now?" He replied, "No, you cannot; he is "not in the town; but I can bring him before you "go to bed." I said, "Do so, and I will thank you "much, and you will get the more by it, for you "have put me on the track of this business. Go "then, and look to yourself;" and the man went away.

CCCCLXVIII.

When I was about to go to bed that very night the man came again, and I went into my chamber with him, and with Marques, who had come along with him. Marques said, "We humble ourselves before you, my lord." I saluted him. I had ready by me a volume of the Gospels, on which he (Marques) was to swear, and had also Bonanat, one of my scriveners, to write down what he said. I first made Marques swear to speak the truth, not to keep it back from me for love or fear, for what

might be given or promised, or for fear of any man; and if he knew more than I asked him for, to say it at once. He said, "Grant me pardon, "my lord, and I will tell you the whole truth as to "this business, how it has been, and how not." I said I would willingly pardon him, if he told me the truth about it, and that, moreover, it should get him favour with me. He kissed my hand for the grace I did him, and said that as I pardoned him he would tell me the truth, for he himself had been one of the actors and accomplices in it all. I said, "Welcome to you, since you begin so well;" and he went on to say first about the King of Castile's coin, and then about mine. He told how he had made, and was actually making, false "morabatins," and in what place, who were his accomplices in the affair, and what knights were in it. Then he told me farther I was to send for those whom he named, and if they denied the fact, place him behind a curtain, where he should stand, and he would then come out and make them speak the truth. "They will not dare to deny it when I am placed before them." I did as Marques said, for there was no better way to arrive at the truth.

CCCCLXIX.

Next morning I sent for one of them, who came well instructed by the others, and began by flatly

denying the fact. I said, "How can you deny "it? Were you not in such a place, with such and "such persons, as I can prove it?" He said, "My lord, if you can prove that to me, I cannot help it." And thereon I made Marques come out of his hiding-place, and he said to him,[1] "Friend, were "you not with me at such a place, at which we "talked of the false gold coin, how we should do it, "and how not?[2] And do you not know that of our "councils were Don Such-an-one, and Don Such-"an-one, and Don Such-an-one?" When the man heard that he suddenly changed colour. I saw that, and said to him, "You have sinned, first "against God, then against me, who am your born "lord, in thus denying the truth. You shall "be brought to judgment; if you persist in denying "the truth, it shall be proved against you, and you "will fall under the penalty of the law. If, on the "contrary, you now tell me the truth, and confess "your guilt, you may, perhaps, find mercy in me; "for by truth man finds mercy in God, and in his "lord on earth."

CCCCLXX.

Then the man began to speak out, and his account of the business agreed perfectly with that

[1] This address, as many of those in this business, is reported in the *Chronicle* in Spanish, or at least in the language then in use in Aragon: "Amigo, no fuestes "nos en tal logar con mi, e que "faulariamos de esta cosa como "lo farianmos ni como no?"

of Marques. Both disclosed who their accomplices were. In this manner I went from one to another, until such evidence was produced that I knew for certain how the thing was, or was not, in what place the false coin was made, who made it, and what sort of people were concerned in the affair. It was further proved that the sacristan, the brother of Pedro Perez, had made false "morabatins" of copper, and had lined them over with gold leaf; and it was likewise found that they first went into the hands of Ramon Ramirez at Santa Eulalia, who took care to pass them as good ones. And, moreover, that the false coin was made at Tortelles,[1] at the town of Tarazona, and at many other places. So I had to do justice on Don Pedro Ramirez, on his son, and on Donna Elfa de Tortelles [his wife], all of whom were cast into the river and drowned. The others were executed in the way proper in each case, and their property confiscated, as of people who dared make false coin in my country and in the King of Castile's. As the sacristan was a clerk, I gave him up to the bishop, who kept him in a prison, where he died. When I had accomplished that,

[1] Here the modern edition of Barcelona has *Tortoles*. "E que "sen faya en Tortoles, e enla vila "de Taraçona, e en altres logars "molts." Could the author mean Tortosa? Lower down, however, the name Tortoles (written Tortolles and Torrelles) appears in connexion with that of Dona Elfa, the wife of Pero Ramirez, whence I conclude that Tortosa cannot be meant.

that is, the punishment of so great a crime as the people of the country had taken to, I departed thence, and went to Zaragoza.

CCCCLXXI.

When I had been some time in Zaragoza I departed for the kingdom of Valencia, where I had not been for a good while. I kept Christmas at Alcañiz, and New Year's Day at Tortosa. At Valencia there came a message that my daughter, the Infanta Doña Maria, was dead. It was my wish that she should be buried with her mother at Vallbona, but the Zaragozans, in spite of the barons and knights (who were ready to fulfil my commands), buried her in Saint Saviour's, at Zaragoza. When I knew they had buried her, I stayed in the kingdom of Valencia.

CCCCLXXII.

Then the Bishop of Zaragoza, Don Sancho Martinez de Oblites, and Don Sancho Baldoví,[1] who were my daughter's executors, came to me, and said they wished to show me her will. I heard it read, and found by it that she had bequeathed one thousand marks for discharging debts and damages, and also to distribute among her women servants and people

[1] "Sanxo Martineç Doblites, e en Ponç Baldoui" in the edition of Barcelona.

of her household, whom she wished to assist. They told me, moreover, that she had left nothing but her jewels, wherefore they brought this to my knowledge, as they would rather I had them than any one else, for they had once been mine. I told them that I would willingly pay the value of them into their hands, and that I consigned to them Daroca, Barbastro, and Roda, from the revenues of which they were to pay themselves the thousand marks; and so I got the jewels that belonged to my daughter.

CCCCLXXIII.

When that was over, En Ramon de Cardona and some other barons of Catalonia went to war with me for the business of the Count of Urgel, who was dead. They wished to possess themselves of that county by force; and I opposed it. The executors of the count had many times requested and demanded of me to lend them, on security of the revenues of that county, a sum of money, wherewith to solve the count's debts and liabilities; and at their request I had lent them money to pay what he owed, and fulfil his bequests, and upon which En Ramon de Cardona, and other Catalonian barons with him, made war on me. While I was there [in Catalonia],[1] and keeping the feast of Omnium Sanctorum (All Saints), my son, the Infante Don

[1] Zurita (*Annales*, iii. c. 74) states that the place was Cervera.

Sancho, whom the Pope had made Archbishop of Toledo, sent me messengers and letters earnestly praying me to go at Christmas to Toledo, when he was to say mass; and in his letters he said that he would gladly come to me, as to his father and his lord, but that I was to forgive his not coming at once, as he had to make preparations at Toledo for my reception. He would, he said, meet me at Calatayud, and thence go into Castile with me. He, moreover, asked me to stay with him at Brioga (Brihuega), Alcalá, and other places he owned on that road. I recognised the claim he had on me, as his father, hehaving been always a loving and dutiful son, and assented to his proposal. As, however, Christmas was so near, I left at Cervera my son, the Infante Don Pedro, to keep watch on that frontier.

CCCCLXXIV.

When the feast of Omnium Sanctorum (All Saints) had passed, I went to Aragon, and arrived at Calatayud sixteen days before Christmas. The King of Castile, knowing that I was going to Toledo, came out to meet me at the Convent of Dorta,[1] and did not part from me till I was at Toledo. I stayed there eight days.

[1] Dorta for d'orta is no doubt meant for Huerta, in Castile.

CCCCLXXV.

On the fifth day of my being there, there came a message from Jacme Alarich,[1] my man, whom I had sent to the King of the Tartars, saying that he had come back, and brought me good news. There came with him two Tartars, both men of great influence in their country, though one was of more importance and power than the other, and they invited me to go to the East, and conquer the Holy Land. I told the King of Castile of it. The king thought the thing very great and marvellous, but difficult to accomplish, and fraught with danger. The Tartars, he said, were very deceitful; he feared, when I got there among them, they would not perform what they had promised through their messengers. The business was, no doubt, a very great one. He (the King of Castile) knew well that if Our Lord would conduct me in it, I could succeed; but if I failed, everything would be lost. No king in the world had ever achieved so glorious and honourable an enterprise as to conquer the whole of the Holy Land beyond seas, and the Sepulchre [of Our Saviour]; but he could not advise me to undertake it for anything in this world.

CCCCLXXVI.

I told him I thanked him much for his advice, which showed to me that he loved me. What he

[1] In the Barcelona edition *Dalarig;* he was a native of Perpignan.

said to me was certainly true—the business was a mighty one; no king on this side of the sea had hitherto had intercourse or friendship with the Tartars: for one thing, because their power had only begun a little time since; for another, because of their not having sent similar messages before offering friendship to any Christian king, except me. That the king of that country should have sent a message, distinguishing and selecting me among others, seemed the work of God, who desired to commend that undertaking to me. Since God willed it, I would not, for regard of consequences, or out of fear for myself, nor for what it might cost me hereafter, forsake the enterprise, but would attend to it with all my strength and power, so that God might be satisfied with me for the good will I had shown to obey His commands. Wherefore I prayed the king [Don Alfonso] to be content, for, after all, my honour would be his. And if God thereby gave me much gain, he who had many sons might rely on his having part of the gain I might make there. "It seems to me," I said, "that God wills it, and since God wills it, ill cannot come of it." And King Alfonso replied, "May it be God's will, and may good come to you of it." [1]

[1] Zurita (*Annales*, iii. c. 74). Alfonso's *Chronicle* says nothing of this interview, but the Aragonese and Catalonian writers, such as Beuter, Desclot, Miedes and others, minutely refer to James's endeavours to go on Crusade to the Holy Land. See also Fernandez de Navarrete, *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, tom. v.

CCCCLXXVII.

The conference[1] between me and the King of Castile at an end, I left Toledo next day, and went to a village called Illescas. The King of Castile went to another village in the neighbourhood; and all the other barons, the Master of Uclés, and the Master of the Hospital, he who was the Grand Master for all Spain, spoke of our business, and talked of nothing else but what they had heard me say about the projected expedition. The Master of the Hospital then came up (his name was Brother Gonsalvo Perero, and he was a native of Portugal), and said he wished to speak with me. I went out of the road and took him aside, and he said to me that my intentions were certainly laudable, and my courage good, since I was determined to serve God, that he wished to help me with all he could get from the Hospital in the five kingdoms of Spain. He then asked me to ask the King of Castile to accompany me in the expedition, and allow him (the Grand Master) to take from his country whatever the Hospital possessed therein, and was needed for the enterprise. I thanked him for his offer, and especially for his approval of what I wished to undertake for the service of God, and promised to

[1] The Barcelona edition has two chapters following each other with No. 477.

speak with the King of Castile. I would immediately call upon him: he should keep in sight that I might come when I wanted him.

CCCCLXXVIII.

Thereupon I sent a message to the king, who was ahead of me, hunting, to wait for me. When I arrived where he was, I took him aside and said, "King, the commander has offered me his help in "this expedition; if you will command and say to "him that it pleases you, he will do his utmost to "help us." Forthwith the King of Castile sent for the commander, and he came. The king said to him in my presence, "Commander, the aid and ser- "vice you may do the King of Aragon pleases me "as much, or more, than if it were done to myself. "I further pray and command you to do what you "offer." I said, "Commander,[1] it seems to me as if "the king wished you to speak," and he said, "My "lord, I see well that the king wishes and orders "it." There was an end to the conference that day, and I gave the king great thanks, for I saw plainly that he wished to help me as much as he could.

CCCCLXXIX.

Next morning the King of Castile came out of one village, and I of another, and I rode to

[1] "Comanador" say both the editions.

Daymus, and saw his banner on the road where I was to travel. The king was there; he saluted me, sent for Don Manuel, Don Gil Garcéz, and Don Juan Garcia, and said, "King, "this expedition of yours that you wish to under- "take, God knows well that it grieves me in one "respect, and pleases me in another; it grieves me "that you should put yourself to such great risk, "against such terrible people, and so far off; and it "will please me if you can do such great good to "Christendom as you think. May it please God "that it be so! And since you have it so much at "heart that I cannot hinder or dissuade you from it, "I am unwilling that you should go thither without "proper help from me: for so did you behave "towards me when I needed you to help me "against the Saracens. I will aid you with a hun- "dred thousand gold 'morabatins,' and a hundred "horse." I said to him that I would willingly accept this aid, from no one in the world, except from the Church; but that I was so deeply bound to him, that I could not well refuse his offer of aid, and that though I had determined not to have it I thanked him much for it.

CCCCLXXX.

Next day we passed through Uclés, to which the Master had invited us. When I was about to leave

he offered to go with me, and attend the expedition with a hundred knights. I told him that I thanked him much for them. Next day Don Gil Garcés offered to go with all the forces he could raise; but neither the one nor the other kept his word. When the time for parting with the King of Castile came, he said to me, "Take these sixty thousand "'besants,' which the King of Granada has just "sent me. I give them to you on account of what I "have promised you; the rest will come soon." I took them, and left behind to receive the rest Friar Pedro Peyronet and Pedro Gilabert,[1] to whom the king gave them. I went to Moya that day, and thence to Valencia.

CCCCLXXXI.

When I was at Valencia,[2] there came to me Jacme Alarich with the Tartars, and with him another ambassador there was from Greece, and told me on behalf of the former, or of Great Khan,[3] who is the

[1] Guilabert, and Guil for Gil is the reading in the Barcelona edition.

[2] This paragraph, which in the edition of 1557 is numbered 481, and in that of Barcelona has number 482, is thus headed: "The "Glorious King En Jacme, when "he had heard the messengers of "the Great Khan and of Palæo-"logus Emperor of the Greeks "determined to pass beyond seas, "and to conquer the Holy Se-"pulchre."

[3] "Que ell hauia cor e volentat dajudar nos," thus in both editions of the *Chronicle*, but the contrary must be meant; it was the Khan who solicited the aid of James. As to the Khan himself, his name was Abaga-Khan; he was the son of Holagú-Khan, and had married a daughter of the King of Constantinople, Palælogue.

King of the Tartars, that he had the desire and the will to help me: that I should go to Alayas,[1] or any other place, and he would come to meet me; I should find in his country all I needed, victuals and engines of war,[2] and so I, together with him, could easily conquer the [Holy] Sepulchre. He said he would furnish me with supplies. The other, the messenger from Palialogo (Palæologus), Emperor of the Greeks, said that his master would likewise send me supplies by sea.

CCCCLXXXII.

Thereon I busied myself in providing and getting ready for my voyage, so that seven months after that I was at Barcelona, about to cross the sea. Thereon the Queen of Castile sent me word to wait for her, and that she would come to Horta (Huerta), as she actually did, with her sons. My own sons, the Infante En Pedro, the Infante En Jacme, and the Archbishop of Toledo, were there also. All prayed me during two consecutive days, weeping and crying, not to depart; but they could not prevail with me to remain, and I went back to Barcelona to make my passage. I had then with me, between knights and horsemen, full eight hundred or more.[3]

[1] "Alayas," which Ch. de Tourtoulon conjectures is Alaia or Alanieh, in Asian Turkey, *Jacme I., le Conquerant*, vol. ii. p. 392.

[2] "Que ell nos bastaria de geyns (genyi ?) e de conduyt."

[3] The Spanish translation makes the number 1,300. A similar discrepancy occurs before.

CCCCLXXXIII.

Before starting for the East, I went to Mallorca, to see if there was any shipping there, and to ask the people of the town if they would help me in my expedition. I crossed over with one galley and a "sagetia,"[1] or smaller vessel. When there, I asked them to assist me; they said they would do what I wished, and that I had only to say what it was. Perceiving their good will to help me, of seventy thousand sous that I had intended to ask for I only asked them for fifty thousand. They gave them willingly, and with pleasure. With what they gave me I hired three ships, and got besides, from the Almoxerif of Minorca, a thousand oxen and cows. I then returned, and on the first of August was again at Barcelona.

CCCCLXXXV.

On the third or fourth day before Saint Mary's, in September,[2] I set sail. We were all that night beating to windward, more than forty miles out at sea. In the morning En Ramon Marquet came to me and said, "My lord, it seems to me as if we "ought to return to the land, that all the fleet may

[1] *Sagetia* in Catalan is equivalent to *saetia* in Spanish. Both words are derived from the Arabic, *Xathia*, شاطية, a ferry-boat for the crossing of rivers, شط meaning the bank of a river.

[2] Nativity of the Virgin, 8th September.

"be collected together, and may keep us in sight; "otherwise they will miss you on the sea, and be "unable to follow you." I saw that he was right, and did as he suggested. When I went back, I found only one galley, for the rest of the fleet had gone on to Sitges.[1] I went to sea again with that galley, and the other ships made for Minorca. In the morning I saw them, some seventeen sail, twenty-five miles off, in the waters of Minorca. We proceeded all that day, and all that night; and next day, at vespers, an east wind arose,[2] and made a blue and red arc, one of those called Saint John's.[3] A waterspout rose and fell into the sea, which turned white from black it was before. Then came the east wind, which began at sunset, and there was a great deal of it during the night, so that all the time it blew we had to furl the sails. We, moreover, saw no sail nor ship. This was on Saturday, the night before Saint Mary's, in September.[4]

CCCCLXXXVI.

When Sunday came the wind changed to the south-east and lasted all day till midnight; then it

[1] Ves (vers?) la mar de Ciges.

[2] "Levas j orre temps de levant" in the edition of 1557; the modern one has: "levas vent a llevant."

[3] "E feu j arch blau e vermejl daquests quen dien de sent Marti"; in the other, "de Senct Ioan."

[4] Of this chapter, and the following, the Barcelona edition, which is by far the more correct, makes only one, CCCCLXXXV., and thus is the difference, above noticed, between the two made up.

changed again to the south-west, and on Monday the weather was worse than on Saturday or Sunday : all the four winds meeting and fighting one another. This lasted all day on Tuesday and all night into Wednesday, when still the bad weather did not abate. So that sailors, who had crossed the sea twenty or twenty-five times, said they had never met with such bad weather.

CCCCLXXXVII.

When day came, I saw the ship of the Templars close upon mine ; they spoke to us and said that they had broken their rudder, and asked us for one : we sent it to them. En Ramon Marquet said we should not do it, for our ship ought not to be without a spare rudder. The Templars' ship than went away, and we lost sight of them at night. At vespers we saw the ship of the Sacristan of Lerida, who was afterwards Bishop of Huesca. She passed under our stern, as well as that of the Commander of Alcaniz, one of the knights of Calatrava. I called together En Ramon Marquet and Galceran de Pinós, and some more knights who were in the ship with me, and told them to listen to what I had to say. I spoke thus : " Ramon " Marquet, it seems to me that it is not Our Lord's " will that we should go beyond sea, as once

"before, when we had prepared to go ;[1] for this bad "weather has already lasted seventeen days and "eighteen nights, and we cannot even get together "the fleet." This was eight days after Michaelmas.

CCCCLXXXVIII.

Thereupon there came the Bishop of Barcelona, the Master of the Temple, and the Master of the Hospital in Aragon, and all the chief men *(prohomens)* of Barcelona, and the masters of the ships, and the sailors, and entreated me, in the name of God and of Saint Mary, not to continue the voyage, for they feared that the great fogs there are at Acre in the beginning of winter might make us miss the land. If we did miss it, they were afraid of what might happen to us. "We dare not," they said, "advise you to make this voyage, and put yourself "in danger of death." And thus, because of their prayers, and because I knew that they said the truth, I stayed. The Bishop then said, "We have "already spent at sea two months, when a lesser "time would have been sufficient for the passage "had the wind been prosperous. Since in that time "we could not cross, and Our Lord delayed us "through the season, it is clear that our voyage was "not agreeable to Him. We could endure the bad

[1] This would imply that a first attempt to cross had already been made ; but the fact is not recorded by any historian that I know.

"weather, if time remained for our voyage; but since "He will not give us a wind to impel us where we "want to go, it seems to us as if it was not His "pleasure we should go there." I told them that I would see if on that night the weather and wind did improve or not; if it did, we would go on: if not, we could not put force on Our Lord. When the night came we managed as well as we could with the wind there was from the south-west till the dawn; when the sun rose there was an east wind in our teeth, so that we could not go ahead.

CCCCLXXXIX.

So when I saw that it was not God's pleasure to make the weather better for us, I made signal to the ship of the Sacristan of Lerida, who became afterwards Bishop of Huesca, to that of Calatrava, and to that of En Pedro de Queralt, to go back, and tack at the same time as we did; but the [main]yard of the Sacristan's ship came down and fell on deck. If, peradventure, any one should ask why my ship and those that turned back with me did not cross the sea, as others did, the reason is, that they had such a wind that they could easily tack on it and make the voyage, whereas we ourselves could not face the wind, because we were lower than they were.[1] All

[1] "E si per auentura negun de- "manaua per cal rao no passa la "nostra nau ni aqueles que ab nos "sen tornaren aixi com les altres "hi passaren, aquesta es la rao: car "ells hauien lo vent del *lebeg* tan

the time that the storm lasted—full three days and nights—I never ceased, whenever I could be private and alone in the place where I slept (which on board ship is called Paradise), praying Our Lady Saint Mary of Valencia to intercede with her dear Son that if our passage to the Holy Land seemed good to Him, He should let me make it, and give us fair wind ; for I certainly would not abandon it for any harm that might come to me and my people ; but if He thought that it was not for our good, nor for that of Christianity, that she would send us back to the altar of Saint Mary of Valencia. It so pleased her : for we got safe to the port of Aiquesmortes ; and when we were within two miles of land, a wind came out of the entrance of the port, which made us haul down our sails, and beat off all that evening and night, so that we came to Agde (Acde). I prayed again to God's mother that nowhere, in my land, or elsewhere, might we land but in some place near a church consecrated to her, that I might make suitable offering, and give thanks for the mercy shown us in taking us out of that danger, and that I might worship at her altar.

"complit, ques podien sobrepujar "al vent perço quan erem puys "bays que ells no eren a orçar per "fer lur viatge e nos no." I can offer no clearer translation of this passage than the above. Consult Zurita, *Annales de Aragon*, iii. 74, and p. 386 of the Spanish version, and Navarrete, *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, vol. v. *Lebeg*, in Spanish *lebeche*, is the *ventus Lybicus* of the ancients.

CCCCXC.

When the next day came we had a west wind,[1] gentle and fair, which took us into port. Next morning I went to the church of Our Lady Saint Mary of Vallvert,[2] to thank her for the grace and favour she had done us all in taking us out of that danger in which we had been. Whilst we were in that port, a head cook of mine, who had been outside in a boat, told me that he had met Friar Pedro Cenre and Friar Ramon Marti, coming from Tunis. They asked him what the ship was. They were told that the ship was the king's, who had turned back for stress of weather. I expected them to wait for me, but they went off to Montpellier. Next day I went to Vallvert to give thanks to Our Lady Saint Mary for the grace she had done us. The Bishop of Maguelonne,[3] and the son of En Ramon Guancelm,[4] came out to meet me. They told me, as soon as they came, that if I wished it, they would go to sea with me, and that we could renew our supplies of provisions there. The fleet, they said, would be greatly discouraged if I were not with it.

[1] "Nos haguem el *garbí* dolç e amoros." Garbí, the west wind, from *garb*, غرب, west, whence *algarbe*, *garbino*, *almagreb*, &c.

[2] Sainte-Marie de Vauvert.

[3] Iean de Montlaur.

[4] The modern Barcelona edition has twice "Gaucelm."

CCCCXCI.

I said to them, "What assistance would you give if we went to sea again?" The son of En Ramon Guancelm then said, "I will follow you with ten knights." Then the Bishop of Maguelonne said he would follow me with twenty; and they added that unless I again tried to cross the sea, people would talk a great deal about it. I answered them that people did certainly talk a great deal too much; I did not care what they said: our Lord knew that I was forced to do what I did, and that nothing in the world grieved me more, nor so much, as to be obliged to abandon my enterprise; "Yet I "wonder much at your saying such a thing, for in "my ship alone there are no less than fifteen knights "lost and disabled, and I believe that in the other "ships there are as many as a hundred dead and "disabled. Were I to go to sea again with only thirty "fresh knights, to replace those who are dead or "disabled, that would not be right. And I have left "the sea with such damage on account of the bad "weather, that for nothing in the world would I go "back to it, not for anything that could be done. But "I should like you to tell me: with whom have you "consulted on this matter?" They said, "With En Ramon March,[1] and with others who talked of it."

[1] Elsewhere Marchet and Marquet.

I said, "When will En Ramon March be here?" They said, "On the morrow." I said, "I will see "En Ramon March, and speak with him before "you; and then I will see what his advice is."

CCCCXCII.

Next day En Ramon March came to me at Vallvert. I sent immediately for the Bishop of Maguelonne, and for En Ramon Guancelm, and said to him: "En Ramon March, the Bishop and En Ramon "Guancelm have said this to me, with your approval, "as they say, and I wish to know if it is your "opinion—that I should proceed again across the "sea." "My lord," said he, "I could give you "advice in other matters: but you know more "about war than I do. And what you consider "good advice is no doubt the best. What you do "not know, neither I nor any one else will know." And the Bishop and En Ramon Guancelm felt reproved for what they had said to me. So I took no more notice of what they had said.

Thence I went to Montpellier, and the day after my arrival there, sent for the consuls[1] and for fifty or sixty of the chief men of the town to come to me. They came, and I told them how I had suffered on the sea, that it seemed our Lord did not wish that I should cross it, for I had tried it once before

[1] In 1239 Montpellier was governed by consuls elected by the citizens under a "bayle," who was at the same time James's lieutenant.

without success. I had sailed to Barcelona another time intending to cross, when the ships for seventeen or eighteen days were in danger of being driven on shore by the great sea from the south-east and the Provençal wind.[1] As it would lengthen the book to repeat much of what was said on the occasion, I will pass on to what is most important. I told them the business had already cost me much money, but that I relied on their helping me so that I should be content. This I once asked them to do through the Franciscans of Montpellier, at the same time offering them good pledges for repayment. I would do to their satisfaction, and they should help me for the expedition I intended making for the service of God, but which, as they well knew, had entirely failed. Since God had brought me to the town of Montpellier, I prayed them very earnestly to help me. They said they would deliberate, and next day would give me the answer.

CCCCXCIII.

Next day they came before me, and the answer they made was in this wise: that they knew well how grievous it was to me not to have crossed the sea. It was quite true that I had once asked them

[1] "Per la gran mar que hi "faya daxeloch e de vent á la "Provença." *Daxeloch* is for *da xeloch* in Span. *xalogue*, *i.e.* the "sirocco," or south-east wind, from the Ar. شُرُوق.

on a previous occasion for aid; but they denied having said to the Franciscans that they were ready to help me. This, however, was their final resolution: should I cross the sea they would willingly pay me sixty thousand sous tournois.[1] I said, "Barons, you have made to me the most novel reply "that ever a subject made to his lord, not to say "to such a lord as I am to you. And I marvel "at the little sense and judgment of the people "of Montpellier, that you should think to satisfy "me with such an answer. You would actually "give me more to leave you than to remain with "you in the land! My subjects of Aragon and "Catalonia would indeed give me a thousand thou-"sands of sous[2] for remaining in their land; and "I marvel greatly how you can offer me money "on condition I leave you and go to another land, "where I may be killed or taken prisoner."

CCCCXCIV.

I departed thence and came to Catalonia; then I entered Aragon and went to Zaragoza. When I was there, there came to me messengers from the King of Castile (Alfonso), who prayed me to go and

[1] Lx. milia sous de torneses, *i.e.* touronnais, from their being struck at Tours in France.

[2] "Car los meus homens Da-"rago e de Cathalunya me darien "M. millia sous," &c., *i.e.* one million.

attend the marriage of my grandson, Don Fernando ;[1] as God had sent me back to my country, he prayed it very earnestly. I considered that it was a fitting thing to do, and consented ; promising to be there on the day for which he had asked me. I then went to Tarazona, and the King of Castile went to Agreda. I left Tarazona and went towards Agreda, and met half way the King of Castile, who came out to meet me ; and he rejoiced greatly at my sight, embracing me thrice, weeping for joy. We entered Agreda, and then went through Soria to Burgos, by convenient stages. One day that we were on the road, talking of his achievements [against the Moors] and my own, I told him that I begged him, when he again undertook anything, not to do it without my advice, and if he failed, to come to me in time ; I could put it right for him. He thanked me much, and said he would do so.

CCCCXCV.

Then we went together to Burgos, where the Castilian barons were already assembled ; that is to say, the King's uncle, Don Alfonso de Molina,[2] his own brother Don Philip, Don Nuño Gonsalvez de Lara, and all the bishops and nobles of Castile. The

[1] Don Fernando de la Cerda, son of Alfonso X. and Violante, or Yoland, the daughter of James.

[2] The brother of St. Ferdinand.

daughter[1] of the King of France also came there, with the Count Dodo,[2] brother of Don Juan Dacre, a bishop, and other nobles. Here Don Fernando took to wife the daughter of the King of France. The King of Castile made him a knight, and Don Fernando made knights of his brothers, but not of Don Sancho[3]; for I myself begged him to make the other brothers knights, but not him. The King of Castile said to me that Don Fernando and the other brothers wished it, and since they wished it, he might well make them all knights. I told him before Don Philip, Don Nuño, and the rest of the barons, that whoever counselled that Don Fernando should make all his brothers knights gave him bad advice. The King replied that all his sons desired it, and so Don Fernando might well do it. I told him that he would set wrath and enmity among them: that whenever they did amiss he (Don Fernando) would remind them that he had made them knights, and they would feel scorn and anger at it. I asked them if they wished it, and they said yes. Don Sancho was near me, and I told him in his ear not to do it on any account. He said he would do as I advised.

[1] Blanche, daughter of St. Louis, who was married to Don Fernando in November, 1269.

[2] I presume that this Count Dodo is no other than Jean d'Eu, (Odo?) the brother of Jean de Brenne, or d'Acre, king of Jerusalem.

[3] Alfonso's second son, who, after the death of the eldest, Don Fernando, became heir to the crown, under the appellative of Sancho, *el Bravo*.

CCCCXCVI.

I asked Don Sancho before them all, "Don "Sancho, do you wish to be knighted by Don Fer- "nando?" "Grandfather, what you wish, I wish." I said, "My wish is, that you take knighthood from "your father, and from no one else." He said, "My "lord, so it pleases me, and I will do as you wish "and advise." The King accordingly made Don Fernando a knight, and Don Fernando made his brothers knights, except Don Sancho. He made also knights of Don Lope Diaz de Vizcaya and many other sons of nobles. I stayed at Burgos fifteen days, more or less.

CCCCXCVII.

One day, while I was there, Don Alfonso de Molina sent to tell me that he was not well, and I went to see him. On returning to the Hospital of Burgos, where I had quarters, I met Don Nuño Gonsalvez de Lara, who came to me. I went aside with him, and made the others ride forward along the Rambla of Burgos, and went to my quarters, all the time conversing with him. He offered to do me service, more than to any one else in the world. There were things, he said, in which he would rather serve me than himself; if I but sent him a letter, he would come to me at once with a hundred

or two hundred knights, and I might take from him whatever I needed. Strongly suspecting what Don Nuño's intention was, and what he wanted of me, I answered him with the following reasoning: "Don "Nuño, I know that the King of Castile loves you "not, and brings charges against you, and against "other barons of Castile. And I know also that "you bring charges against him, and have not that "good will for him you and others should have. "Whether that is by your fault or his, I cannot say; "but, certainly, this is better time than any other for "healing the wound, and I have a better reason for "interfering in his affairs than any man has. What "others would not dare to tell him, I can say as "plainly to him as to a simple knight. And do you "believe surely, that if the King has done you "wrong, I will at once say so to him, and will make "him repair it. If he will not, I will show myself so "dissatisfied with him, that you will see he will do it "at last. If not, I will be so angry with him, that "you shall have to thank me for what I will do." After that, I found Don Nuño next day much contented with the King, who, he said, had given him heritages, had married[1] him, and had done all duties of a lord towards his vassal; so much so, that it seemed to me that I ought not to interfere after what he said.

[1] *Casat* here is perhaps used in the Provençal sense for established, set up.

CCCCXCVII*a*.

Then I departed for Tarazona, and the King of Castile followed me part of the way, not wishing to leave me as long as I might be in his country. I asked him to keep the next Christmas with me. At first he made some excuses, but yielded at last to my entreaties, and he came with me to Tarazona. As it was becoming, I furnished him and those with him with everything they needed; so that every Castilian baron had in his tent bread, wine, wax, salt meat,[1] fruit, and everything he needed, so that one had not to ask another for anything. And I so managed, as before said, that there was not one to whom I did not give his full portion of partridges, dried grapes, and everything else he asked for.[2]

CCCCXCVIII.

The King of Castile and his suite stayed there seven days with me, and in those seven days I gave him advice as to seven things he was to observe in the conduct of affairs. First, that when he had given his word to any one, he should in any case fulfil it; it was better to bear the shame of saying no to one, who asked for something, than to grieve at heart for having to fulfil a

[1] Salsa.

[2] In the edition of 1557: provided one thing did not prevent the other, "per tal que la j. no embargas laltre."

promise. Another counsel was, that he should look well before he signed a grant, and think first whether he could and should do it or not. The third was that he should keep all his people attached to him, for it was a fair and good thing for any king to keep in his grace and pleasure all the people with which God had intrusted him. The fourth was, that if some only were to be kept in his grace, and he could not keep the others, he should keep at least two parties: the church, and the people and cities of the country. For they are those whom God loves more, even, than the nobles and the knights, for the knights revolt sooner against their lord than the others. If he could keep with him all of them, well and good; if not, he should keep those two parties, for with their help he could easily destroy the others. The fifth counsel was this: God had given him Murcia, and I, with the help of our Lord, had assisted him to take and conquer it. Now the grants I had made to the settlers of Murcia, and those he himself had afterwards made, were not well kept: on the contrary, they had been broken, and some of the settlers had lost their land. They had received some twenty or thirty "tafullas,"[1] fifty he who had received most;

[1] "Tafulla" and "tahulla" is a land measure much used in Valencia and Murcia. It generally applies to irrigated rather than to arable land. The word is no doubt Arabic, perhaps, too, Berber, but the root is not to be found in the dictionaries we have of those languages. As to Cafíz, see note 3 at page 25.

but fifty "tafullas" were only two "jovadas" of the measurement of Valencia, that is twelve "cafices" of seed corn; and yet Murcia was by far the best town in all Andalucia,[1] except Seville. He was very wrong in letting people think and say that he knew not how to allot lands to settlers. Murcia would never be prosperous unless he did do one thing, which was to people it with one hundred men of importance, who might receive him properly when he came into the city. "Those (I said) "you should take care that they have good "heritages therein. A man of some importance "is not sufficiently endowed with a hundred "'tafullas,' nor with two hundred. Let artisans "and workmen have the rest of the land, and in "this way you will have a goodly town for your-"self. If, perchance, you have made grants to men "who do not reside in Murcia, make terms with "them, and give their land to the proper settlers." Another counsel was, never to punish any one in secret; it did not become a king to punish his vassals in secret. This passed at Tarazona.[2]

CCCCXCIX.

The King of Castile then left Tarazona and went to Fitero, whence came word to me that he was very

[1] The word is here used for "Andalus," *i.e.* that portion of the Spanish Peninsula still occupied by Arabs and Moors.

[2] "E aço fon en Taraçona," which last sentence the modern edition suppresses entirely.

ill of a kick which a horse have given him in the leg at Burgos. I immediately went there, and with me four or five knights and my own train. I saw him and comforted him. I had with me at the time a surgeon doctor named Master John; I besides carried with me everything that was needed, and stayed with him three or four days, when he begged me earnestly to go back, as he considered he was cured. He thence went into Castile, and I went to Calatayud for a month or more.

D.

After a month I came into the kingdom of Valencia, and found that there had been a dispute and contention between my lieutenant and another officer named Guillen Scrivá;[1] I gave judgment in favour of the former. Then En Guillen Scrivá and others brought charges against that same lieutenant (*batle*), and I heard also the case, and gave judgment on it, and punished them both, so that the city remained in peace and good order.

DI.

Then came a message that the King of Castile desired to see me, and asked for an interview between Requena and Buñol. I answered that I was willing and content; and I went out to see

[1] In the modern edition "Escrivá."

him, with the intention of showing him my new kingdom of Valencia. I set out for Buñol, and thence on the road to Requena, and received him and the Queen [my daughter] well and fairly, and joyfully and honourably. I prayed the King to come into Valencia, and he agreed, which pleased the Queen, my daughter, much; for since I had married her to the King of Castile (Alfonso), she had not entered my country.[1] Before the King and Queen entered, I arranged how they should be received by the bishops, the knights, and the good men of the city. Many shows and games, of various and wonderful devices, were made.[2] The town was well decorated with hangings, and beds [for the men] set up in the squares. The King entered it, and was well and joyfully received, so that he could not have had a better reception in any town which had been settled for a hundred years. Indeed, as he was so well entertained, and so abundantly supplied with all he needed, game and every article of food, he was joyful and contented beyond measure.[3]

DII.

Then the King of Castile departed from

[1] Since her marriage to Alfonso, in 1246, Doña Violante had not seen her father.

[2] "E faeren fer jochs molts, e "de maraueyloses, e de diverses "[fayçons] e fo la vila be encor- "tinada, e lits per les places de "la vila."

[3] Zurita (*Anales*, iii. c. 76) gives a full account of the entertainment.

Valencia, and I went with him as far as Villena.[1] There he prayed me to stay with him three days, and I did so. Then I took leave of him; he went towards Murcia and I towards Xativa, and thence to Denia. At the latter place I made a settlement, called Orimbloy, and another in the valley of Albaida, called Montaberner.[2]

DIII.

One day I made an excursion towards Biar; and whilst I was at Otinyen (Ontenient) there came to me certain men of Suera,[3] and said that by lying in wait in ambush[4] for them with knights and footmen, En Artal de Luna had killed twenty-seven of their men.[5] On that I returned to Valencia, and then went into Aragon. When I got to Torrellas, near Camarena, a village of Teruel, my son, the Infante En Jacme, came to me and the Abbot of Poblet with him, and told me there, in Torrellas, how the King and Queen of France had proposed to him a marriage with the

[1] Written, Billena.

[2] "Faem una pobla." All the names in the geography of the Peninsula beginning with *Pobla*, or *Puebla*, *Pola*, &c., as *Puebla de Alcocer*, *Puebla de Don Fadrique*, *Pola de Lena*, and others, indicate the settlement of Christians in a village or town abandoned by the Moors.

[3] Çuera.

[4] "En un aguayt e celada." *Aguayt*, *guaita*, &c. (in Sp. acecho), are from the French "guet."

[5] Suera was a recently conquered town in the kingdom of Valencia, still inhabited by Moors living under the faith of a capitulation.

Countess of Nines;[1] that the King and Queen had promised her to him, and had fixed a day for the marriage. He, therefore, begged of me, as a proof of my love and favour as his father and lord, that I should grant him wherewith to perform the engagement he had formed with credit to myself and to him. I went the next day to Camarena, and thence into Teruel. And there I gave him sixty thousand gold sous in aid towards the expenses of his marriage.

DIV.

Thence I went to Zaragoza, and sent for Don Artal de Luna to come to me on the eve of Saint Mary, in August.[2] Next day I summoned[3] him to appear before me. On the third summons that was made Don Artal came, and the people of Suera brought forward their charge against him for killing their people from the ambush. Don Artal then asked me to give him as his advocate Don Juan Gil Terim.[4] This I granted, and the suit between them began. It ended thus: one day I was in Exea; Don Pedro Cornel and other friends of Don Artal's came to me, and prayed me to accept his submission.

[1] Zurita, iii. c. 79, 80.

[2] The Assumption of the Virgin, 15th August.

[3] E en laltre dia nos preycam. The verb "preycar" is not here intended for "preaching" as it would at first appear, but for proclaiming, or summoning Don Artal to appear before the court; in Spanish, "pregonar," which, as well as "preycar," come from the Lat. *predicare*.

[4] The new edition "Tarin."

After deliberation, I accepted it in this wise. I ordered him first to make amends for the injury he had done to the people of Suera, by giving them twenty thousand sous ; that he and the knights who were in the business should leave the kingdom for five years ; that the men of Esla [who had aided Don Artal] should also leave it for three years ; and that a scribe of his, who had done all the mischief, should be banished from my kingdom for ever. I distributed ten thousand sous among the orphans, and the widows who had lost their husbands in the business, and went to Zaragoza.

DV.

At Zaragoza there came to me a pressing message from the King of Castile, that I should see him on great business, which he needed to settle with me, concerning our affairs in common. I sent, forthwith, En Jacme Saroca,[1] Sacristan of Lerida, who was a notary of mine, to say that I had my hands full of business, and could not possibly go to him. If he wished to say anything to me, he should say it to the Sacristan of Lerida ; indeed, I would do as much upon a letter from him as if I saw him in person. The King sent word to say that he did not wish for that, but rather he prayed me to see him in any wise : there were things that he would say to no man in the world but myself.

[1] The edition of 1557 Caroca, probably a misprint for Çaroca ; the modern one of Barcelona has Saroca.

DVI.

Thereupon I left Zaragoza and went to Alicante, where the King of Castile was, as he had sent to say. When I was with him at Alicante, he told me that he knew for certain that the Aragonese barons had made agreements with those of Castile, as well as with the Moors, against both of us. And he asked me for advice as to what he should do in the business of the King of Granada and of the Raises.[1] He said that the King of Granada had offered his help against the Raises, and the Raises in their turn had proffered against the King of Granada;[2] that I should advise him what to do or not to do, and whom to assist.

DVII.

I told him that he should undoubtedly assist the one with whom he had first made alliance. I asked which it was, and he said the King of Granada. I then told him: "If the King of "Granada has made a treaty with you, and not

[1] Zurita, *Anales*, iii. c. 76, says these "Arraezes were of Guadix "and Malaga; chiefs, or princes, "of two towns revolted from "Granada. Gayangos, *Moham-"medan Dynasties*." The word *Raises* is nothing more than the plural of *Rais*, رايس, a chief, a captain. As to the Spanish *Arraez*, meaning" the commander of a vessel," it is a derivation from the same root, راس, *rás*, head. *Ar-rayaz* and *Ar-rayazes*, as these insurgent governors are called in the *Chronicle* of Don Alfonso, is formed from الرياس, *Ar-rayyás*.

[2] At this time Mohammad Ibn Al-ahmar was king of Granada.

"broken it, you should observe it faithfully; but "if the King of Granada himself has broken the "treaty, you are not bound to observe it; you "should side with the others, the Raises, with "whom you might make a treaty, so as not to be "wanting in good faith with the other. It was "very well to see them thus divided; much better "for us to have the Moors in two parties than "in one." He replied that my advice seemed to him good, and that he would certainly follow it.

DVIII.

So I left him, and came into the kingdom of Valencia. When, after staying at Valencia, I came to Murviedro, Fernan Sanchez de Castro[1] sent me a letter by one of his own men. The letter said that the Infante En Pedro had come to Burriana on purpose to kill him; En Pedro's men, sword in hand, had looked everywhere for him, even under the bed, thinking he was in the house. And if he, knowing what was to be, had not escaped, with his wife, they would undoubtedly have caught and murdered him. When I heard that, it grieved me much, and I said I would willingly give a thousand marks of silver that the whole affair should remain a secret between myself, the Infante, and Fernan Sanchez.

[1] One of James's natural sons by Blanca de Antillon, baroness of Castro.

DIX.

I departed thence and went to Aragon, and summoned the Infante and other barons to Cortes at Lerida, all to be there at the middle of Lent. And I myself was there on the appointed time, the Infante and the barons of Catalonia and Aragon. I then took the Infante apart, and charged him, before some confidants of mine and some of his, with having attempted by night to assail and kill Fernan Sanchez. He replied that he had not gone there with the intention of killing him. I said it was clear that he had gone with that intention, for he himself and his men had gone into the room, where he and his wife actually lay, and with drawn swords had searched for him under the bed and under some hemp there was there. I and those with me thought the Infante's defence insufficient, and thereupon I took from him the authority he held to act in my name.

DX.

When that was done I came again into the kingdom of Valencia. The Infante had preceded me, and when he heard of my coming went to Burriana, and came out to receive me just as I was approaching that town, which we both entered hunting, and with great merriment. I came to Murviedro and then to Valencia.

DXI.

I was at Valencia full fifteen days, during which time the Bishop of Valencia, Friar Pedro of Genoa, En Thomas de Jonqueres, both learned clerks in law, and En Jacme Caroca,[1] Sacristan of Lerida, who afterwards was Bishop of Huesca, also came, and in their presence I told the Infante, and prayed him, not to be so cruel in the business of Fernan Sanchez, for he was his own brother,[2] and I would do justice in any charge he might bring against him. I commanded and prayed him to submit to a decision of his case, for when a man (said I) was willing to submit to the judgment of the king of the country, it was reason that he should have such judgment, especially there being such close kindred between them. I moreover made him feel that I was prepared to protect Fernan Sanchez, since he was ready to do what was right. If that was not to avail him, whoever did him hurt would have to deal with me, not with Fernan Sanchez alone.

DXII.

Thereon the Infante said that he would consider and make answer. I asked, When? He said he would make answer next day. I said to him, "Well

[1] Sa roca. See above, p. 623.
[2] "Que pus son frare era." See above, p. 625.

"and good; the longer you consider the affair, "the better will you know what to do." Next day I looked for his answer, and none came. On the third or fourth day, however, they came and told me that the Infante had gone out of the town on horseback, with two or three knights, wearing his pourpoint or quilted coat, his camisole [of mail], his iron cap on his head,[1] and himself on his horse. When I heard that I wondered greatly, for two reasons—one, that he would not submit to my judgment; the other, that he left Valencia by night, which was not needed, for even if he refused to abide by my judgment, I did intend no harm to him provided he did nothing then and there against Fernan Sanchez or his things.

DXIII.

A few days after the Infante had left, Fernan Sanchez came to me at Valencia, and thanked me much for the favour I had done him in speaking to my son on his behalf. When he had been eight days with me he went on his way and returned to his land. While I was at Valencia there were with me Don Eximen de Urrea, the father-in-law of Fernan Sanchez, Don Ferris de Liçana, Don Pedro Martinez de Luna, and many others. The Infante sent to me his messengers, Don

[1] "E ques nera anat son perpunt vestit, e son camisol, e son capel de ferre al cap."

Ruiz Eximenez de Luna and En Thomas de Jonqueres; they brought a letter of credence, and said that they desired to speak with me before my barons and knights and citizens of Valencia, I, accordingly, called them together. When they had assembled, En Thomas de Jonqueres rose, and said, on behalf of the Infante :—

DXIV.

"My lord, the Infante sends to you En Ruiz "Eximenez and myself, who are now here, to de- "clare, in his name, that the departure he made "from Valencia that other time, he did not make it "for any bad cause nor to affront you; but because "he would not say No to what you asked of him. "He says that he has kept the thing secret until "now, but since you press him so much, he says "that Fernan Sanchez has done such things against "you that you ought not to pray on his behalf, much "less desire that the Infante, your son, should par- "don him; for he asserts that you ought not to "reign, and has tried to poison the Infante, and "raise the country against you, with the help of the "barons and knights of this town. This the Infante "will prove in fit time and place; and also that "barons, knights, and townsmen have been in the "plot, as well as the greater part of the Aragonese "barons."

DXV.

I replied that if he would only disclose what the plot was, I should be well pleased: if the Infante could prove it, I would do what ought to be done, and, moreover, that I would hold council on the whole thing. And I called the council apart, for my palace at Valencia happened to be full of people at the time that En Thomas de Jonqueres spoke, and they had heard his words. At that council En Berenguer Guillen de Entenza, Don Eximen de Urrea, Don Ferris de Liçana, and Don Pedro Martinez de Luna were present. When all had assembled, I said to them, "En "Thomas de Jonqueres has said an ill thing against "you Aragonese; some one to answer him is much "needed." Then Don Eximen de Urrea said he would willingly answer him, only that he (Jonqueres) was a clerk, and a base person; he would give his place to another like himself, who should answer him; and if that was not enough, he would produce a knight to answer him who came with him. So the council broke, and neither En Thomas nor the knight, who was with him, made answer to the challenge or replied in any way.

DXVI.

Thereon I replied to Don Ruiz Eximenez, and to En Thomas de Jonqueres that the Infante's

charge was very weighty, and a great matter to be brought against so many. But that I would fix a day for Fernan Sanchez, to whom he should give a safe conduct, to come and appear. If he could prove the charge, well and good; if not, I would give him the punishment he deserved for such a wilful and unjustifiable accusation. Thereto they said that they had no orders to appoint such a day, and they departed.

DXVII.

Then I called together Cortes at Alcira, the Archbishop, the bishops, the barons (*richs homens*), and the chief men of towns, four from each, attending them. When Fernan Sanchez came to me at Valencia, and I told him what had been said of him, and that even Don Eximen de Urrea, who was his father-in-law,[1] would not take his defence. I told him that he and the others should answer the accusation; all were dishonoured by a thing that, if true, injured their character for good faith. None of them, however, would make answer. Thereon I determined to go to Alcira, as I knew the Infante was coming, for there I should be at the crossing over the river, and better able to resist him, if he attempted anything against me. I stayed

[1] Don Fernando had married a daughter of En Exemen d'Urrea; *v.* Desclot, *Chron.*, &c., chap. lxviii.

there, hunting, and watching what the Infante would or would not do. When I least expected it, they came and told me that the Infante had crossed the river at a ford below Segayren,[1] and had come to Corbera, having twenty-five or thirty horsemen with him. I had already summoned the Cortes to Alcira : there had come the Infante En Jacme, the Archbishop, the bishops of Barcelona, Lerida, and Valencia, Garcia Ortiz, Don Artal de Luna, and the men of the cities of Zaragoza, Teruel, Lerida, Calatayud, and other places. Whilst I was there, thinking on the wrong the Infante did me, not only by refusing to abide by law in the case of Fernan Sanchez, but by arming all the places he held of me, I asked the Cortes then meeting to consider as their own grief that which the Infante had done to me. They said that since he himself had come to Corbera, they would go there, and endeavour to reconcile him with me. Meanwhile I took from him all he held of me, both in Aragon and Catalonia.

DXVIII.

Then the Aragonese barons went to the Infante at Corbera, except Don Artal Dalagó, who did not go. They found him very fierce, and very averse from what they said to him, so that they did not part one from another kindly. The

[1] Segayreni.

barons came back to me at Alcira, and said they would go, each man to his own land. Then I held council as to what to do or not to do. They told me of the speech they had held with the Infante; and I told them that they ought not to have proceeded or spoken thus between me and him; it was for the Archbishop, the bishops, the barons, and the citizens who went to Corbera, to have said to him: "Why are you on such bad "terms with your father? If he has wronged "you he is sure to make it good as we ourselves "may think right. If you will not accept our offer, "we tell you that you will lose our help, and we "and all the kingdom will go against you, as against "one who is a rebel to his own father." "Had you "told the Infante that, he would not dare to persevere "in his opposition to me. If, after our meeting "here, you depart without doing anything in this "business, how do you think matters will stand be-"tween him and me? If you meet any one on your "journey home, and he should ask you how you came "to leave the king, and his son at war and in anger, "you will have to go and hide your faces, like "miserable wretches."[1] They said they would try it again, and tell the Infante that; but they begged that Don Artal Dalagó might also go with them, and I accordingly sent him.

[1] "Com a malestruchs." In the Barcelona edition "Con a mal astruchs."

DXIX.

When they were there [at the Infante's], they told the Archbishop to speak for them all; but he said he would not. Then they asked the Bishop of Barcelona and other barons to speak, but no one would. Then they told En Juan Gil to speak for them all. En Juan Gil said, "How shall I make speech in the presence of "the Archbishop, the bishops, and the barons? "How can I do it?" But all said that they wished him very much to speak; and he raised his hands towards heaven, and said, "I thank God that they "have committed the speech to me. May it please "Him that I may utter words to the honour of the "king, and profit of the Infante." And he delivered his speech, though not so fully and strongly as I had told them. Then they all came back to me and said they could do nothing more; the Infante meant to do that which would be to my injury and affront. I wished to keep the barons; but they said that since they could do nothing in the affair, and were at great expense, they would depart. I said, "Go, and ill go with you. I will do my work without you." So they departed.

DXX.

On the third or fourth day, the Infante sent me word that I should send him the Bishop of Valencia

and two knights more of my trust; I did so. I then went to Xativa, leaving a sufficient garrison at Alcira. At Xativa the Bishop of Valencia came to me and, taking me apart, said in great secrecy, "My lord, "know for certain that the Infante, without any con- "dition, is willing to put himself in your power, and "to make submission to you; he will do what you "please, and will come to Xativa." I was well pleased with the news. This was the Friday [1] before Christmas. The Infante came on the appointed day, with all his followers, and came into me, in my house at Xativa. I rose to meet him, and received him kindly and cheerfully, as I saw him come to me so humbly. I told him to go and take rest, that he should speak with me next morning. He said he would not go unless I forgave him, and he prayed and asked me, as a favour, to send for my knights and for the good men of the town [that he might make a statement in their presence]; and so I did.

When all had come, the Infante stood up and said, "My lord, what I have done grieves me much, "and great sorrow have I in my heart that I have "done anything to grieve you. I come to put my- "self at your mercy: do with me and mine what "you please." Then he threw himself at my feet, kissed them, and prayed me in God's name to

[1] Lo Dimecres, says the edition of 1557, which would make it Wednesday instead of Friday.

forgive him. I was greatly moved, and sorrow for him seized me so that I could not help tears coming into my eyes. I saw his great devotion to me, and his humility, and I pardoned him.

DXXI.

Next morning I made him come to me at the Church of Saint Philip,[1] and I took him aside with the Master of the Temple and the Bishop of Valencia. The Master of the Hospital came over with him, he had taken him prisoner, and now brought him and gave him up to me. I told him that I would renounce the claim I had made on him for fifty or sixty thousand sous, and that I would moreover discharge him of all he owed me in the kingdom of Valencia, amounting to full two hundred thousand sous.[2] Thereon we both were content and cheerful. He said he had no intention at any time to separate from me, but was prepared always to obey my commands. He further prayed me to allow him to go to Valencia, for he said he had much to do there, and he went. After that he came to Denia, and with him the Sacristan of Lerida, who was then bishop elect of Huesca. Then he begged me to allow him to go to Catalonia, for many affairs of his own there.

[1] Sant Feliu.

[2] "E dixem li que li quitariem "de tots sos deutes e de tot quant "degues en lo regne de Valencia." I think this must allude to the Infante's liability for revenue collected as his father's lieutenant in the kingdom of Valencia.

I told him that it pleased me since he wished it; and he went to Catalonia, and was at the consecration, at Tarragona, of the Sacristan of Lerida, who then became Bishop of Huesca.

DXXII.

I departed for Murcia, and gave the chief men of the city *(prohomens)* notice that I was coming. If ever men in the world took pains to receive a king well, the Murcians did it for me. All the inhabitants came out to meet me, some on foot, some on horseback; and they made a parade before me, saying they thanked God and His Blessed Mother that they saw me again, for their prosperity in that place was entirely through me, and that they had no greater joy than at my having come among them. I went to sleep at the house of the queen, and to dine at that of Don Ferdinand [her son]. And at vespers, the chief men of the town came to me, and one named En Andreu Dodona[1] rose and said they thanked God for my coming, and that they knew well and acknowledged that the prosperity they enjoyed was my making; they knew of what help I had been to them whilst I was there; how I had first interceded for them with the king. They prayed me and begged of me, as a favour, that I would stay with them two or three days, or

[1] Dodena.

more. I consented to stay one day. They then entreated of me this grace, that I would keep them in my own favour, and in the King of Castile's. I granted this to them. And I stayed nineteen days hunting and disporting, for I had gone thither for no other purpose than to see how the settlement went on, and I rejoiced as much at their prosperity as if it were my own.

DXXIII.

When I returned to the kingdom of Valencia, and was at Alcira, there came to me a messenger from the Pope. His name was Friar Pedro de Alcalá, and he brought a letter from Pope Gregory X., requesting me to give him counsel and aid in the business of the Holy Land beyond sea. This pleased me much, and I was very joyful at it. I sent him word that I would be there with him on the day he had named. So I accordingly prepared to go to the council at Lyons, as he had requested. And a long time before this I had my hostelries taken into the city, and sent thither whatever I thought would be necessary during two months or more. And in the middle of Lent I left Valencia, and went to Lyons. At Gerona, my son, the Infante En Pedro, invited me to Torrella for Easter, and I spent it with him. Then I departed thence, and went towards Perpignan, he himself following

me there: but I ordered him to turn back, and I went on to Montpellier. After staying there eight days, I again set forth on my road.

DXXIV.

When I got to Viana[1] the Pope sent me his messengers in state, praying me to wait a day at Saint Symphorien, that he might the better prepare for my reception. I did so; the place was three leagues from Lyons. Next day I rose at dawn, and went into Lyons. It was the first day of May; all the cardinals came out to meet me a league outside the city, and the Master of the Temple beyond seas, En Juan Gil, En Gaspar de Rosellon, who held the city for the Pope, and many other bishops and barons; and it took me to make my entrance for the distance of a league, as far as the Pope's palace, from morning till noon, so great was the throng of people who came out to receive me. The Pope had ordered the porters not to keep the gates of the city shut, but to let in all those whom my people might order, so that at my entry there came in with me not only all the knights of my suite, but all those who chose to come in.

DXXV.

The Pope was in his chamber. When they told him that I was coming he came out in his full robes,

[1] Vienne in the Dauphinois.

and I saw him pass before me. He sat down in his chair, and I did him that reverence which kings do to a pope, according to the established custom. A chair was set for me near his own, on the right; and I then told him how I had come the day he had appointed for the meeting, but that I would not speak with him of any business till the morrow, when I would be present and hear what he had to say to me; I would then make him such answer that he should be content with me.

DXXVI.

Next morning I went to him and found him in his chamber with his cardinals. There went in with me the Archbishop of Tarragona, the bishops of Barcelona, Valencia, and Mallorca, whom I followed. As soon as we were seated, the Pope began to speak on the business of the Holy Land beyond sea. He said how he had come to Lyons for that purpose, and how Our Lord had brought him and us there to set right that business. He, moreover, said that he was very glad at my coming, and had hope in God that, through me and the others, God would give him His good counsel, such as should be profitable to the Holy Land, and lead to its conquest.

DXXVII.

Then I stood up, and was about to take off my cap, when the Pope bid me not to do that, but to

remain as I was, and put on my cap; and, with one voice, the cardinals all said the same thing, and begged me sit down. When I had taken my seat, I told him that he had sent me a messenger, and asked me to come on the day of the council. The messenger's name was Friar Pedro de Alcalá, a Dominican: he had brought me a letter asking me to give credence to what he might say on his behalf. I told him, however, that I would follow the words of our Lord in the gospel, *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo.*[1] "I quote that text "for this reason: I wished to come to you, and "you sent me a messenger; but I was unwilling "to disclose my mind to any other one but your- "self. It was not right that I should say what was "in my heart to any but to you personally, and to "those before whom you might desire me to speak. "I knew by the prophets, that is, by Isaiah, that, at "the feast of our Lady Saint Mary, when she "brought our Lord to the temple to make offering, "she said, *Lumen ad revelationem gentium*, which "means, 'Light is revealed to all nations.' True it "is, that when He was born, and our Lady Saint "Mary had offered Him to the temple, the Son of "God was revealed to the nations. Wherefore we "may now conclude that this council of yours will "be good and holy. This is, indeed, like the text: "What other popes did not do nor accomplish, that

[1] In Isaiah xlii. 8, occurs "My glory will I not give to another."

"is, recovering the Holy Sepulchre beyond sea, "wherein God was willing to die for us and be "buried; that by your word and work with the "clerks and the great barons of this world, may "now be concluded; that the light, which could not "be brought to perfection till now, may be perfected "in our time, and kindled by you. I have come "here for two purposes, two of your own, and for a "third of mine. The first is that you sent to "me for advice; the second, that I may give "you aid. I have come here to give you the best "advice I know, or that God will inspire me with; "and also to give you aid. The third is entirely a "reason of my own—that I may denounce others, "who have no heart to serve God;[1] and I will say "and do so much that they shall accuse and de-"nounce themselves." At that the Pope and the cardinals began to smile at what I had so well said. So I left them well content, and they thanked me much for the speech I had made; and I departed to my inn.

DXXVIII.

Then the Pope[2] sent word to say that he prayed me much to be on the following Friday at the council he would hold in the church. I said it

[1] James no doubt hinted at the fact of no other European king but himself having attended the Council.

[2] At this time (1274) Gregory X. (Theobaldo Visconti) was Pope.

pleased me well, and that I would do so since he asked it. When Friday came, I went there; the archbishops went at dawn, and I as soon as the sun was up. The Pope would not begin his speech till I came. When I entered the church, the sight was marvellous: I saw, of archbishops, bishops, and abbots, full five hundred or more. The Pope sat in tribune, the cardinals and patriarchs were on two benches,[1] in face of the Pope, higher than the rest; he had me called up to him, and seated me on his right hand, very near him, so near that no one could pass between me and him; his chair was not a palm higher than mine.

DXXIX.

Then the Pope began to speak in Latin, saying how he himself had come, despite of storms, and the cardinals with him: our Lord had guided them and conducted them for that good work, so that neither storms nor sickness could hinder their assembling. We all knew that God had made us, and given us the good things we had—all that we had for our own use; and as He had given us those things, it was but reason we should give Him, not all, but a part of what was ours, to recover that holy place that was held by His enemies, the unbelievers in His faith. We should make that exchange with our

[1] "Stauen en dos finestols."

Lord, who had, for so great love of us, endured death and suffered passion. What would he be who, at such a time, would be wanting to Him? It would be impossible that any man, being able to serve Him who made him, and who was to save him, should serve the devil rather than Him. These things and others the Pope expounded for our profit and for the salvation of our souls. And at the end of his discourse he granted that all the sins we had done in this world should be forgiven to those who should serve God in that enterprise, except robbery, usury, or theft, for those are sins that involve wrongs to others, and he could not forgive them without full restitution and compensation being made. But those that were wrongs to our Lord, he forgave, for he stood between God and man: he had the power of Saint Peter, which our Lord had given him on earth—he could loose and bind; wherefore it was good to have that pardon. And he gave to those, also, who, from old age or illness, could not go [to the Holy Land], the same pardon, if they only gave towards the expedition what they themselves would have spent on it.

DXXX.

Thereon the council broke up. The Pope then prayed me to come to him next day, for he wished to speak with me concerning certain messengers from kings and princes beyond sea. I went next

morning, to him, as did all the others, who were there for their lords, whether kings or princes. We were there, in presence of the Pope and his cardinals, I myself, the Master of the Temple, Brother Juan de Carcella,[1] the oldest Templar there was at the time, who acted as Master beyond sea, and many others. The Pope began his speech, and spoke in this manner: that our Lord made man and all other creatures, and gave man all other creatures to serve him, and did man so much honour that He made him in His figure and semblance. Since He had done us so much honour, and had been willing to die for the human race, it was but reason we should do so much for Him as to succour Him in the place where they held Him captive, and that we should give our love in exchange for His, which had cost Him so dearly since He chose to die for us. Then what must he be, who would not aid Him and serve in person?—if not in person, at least with what God had given him? This world is like fire and tow[2]: if one has a portion of worldly goods, those who have most of them have most pride; but then the world is like this, that as tow passes quickly away and is burnt when lighted, so does the glory of this world that man has of his worldly goods, when he comes to his end, pass and come to nothing. Therefore every one should think, that

[1] The modern edition has "Descarcella."

[2] "Car aquest segle es en semblança de foch e de la estopa."

since God has given him those good things, he should give a part to Him, that he may thereby gain the glory of Paradise. All we have we ought to give Him, since He has done so much for us; and we should serve Him in person and with our goods, so that by our service the land beyond sea may be conquered.

DXXXI.

When the Pope had finished his speech, I stood up. He made me sit down, for he would not allow me to be standing. I said to him, "Holy Father, I "desire to speak on this business before any one, as "there is no king here but myself; and I give you "first my advice, which is to send to the Holy Land "five hundred knights and two thousand footmen; "and forthwith to send your letters to the Masters "of the Temple and of the Hospital, to the King "of Cyprus, and to the city of Acre, and let them "know that it is for the sake of the land beyond "sea[1] that you have held this present council: to "send at once that company as vanguard, and set "the others in motion to cross over. These first "will not go to fight, but merely to garrison the "castles and places needing it, and to hold them "until the great expedition or crusade goes, that is,

[1] "E feits los saber con per lo "feit doltra mar uos hauets feit "est concili, e que enviarets ades "aquesta companya la."

"two years from the next Saint John's Day. For "should the Moors know that you mean to send a "larger force, they would attack, and the Christians "could not bear them. As to the aid, I answer you "this: that just as your prelates grant you the "tithes of your respective bishoprics,[1] I will grant "you those from my own land; and, indeed, I "believe that I will not give less than he who "gives the most. For the rest, I say that if you "yourself go beyond sea, as you have proposed, I "will accompany you with a thousand knights; but "then do you aid me with the tithes of my land. "This is the counsel I give you, and the aid I "offer."

DXXXII.

When I had done speaking, all were silent, no one spoke. I saw that, and, turning towards the Pope, said to him, "Holy Father, now is the time "for those who are here in representation of kings "and princes, to make their offers; perhaps they "will promise more than I have done, for the shame "of me." Then the cardinals said that I spoke the truth. Thereon the Pope said, "Now speak you En Alart de Balari[2] and the others;" but they

[1] "E al feyt de la aiuda uos "responem queus aiudarem, que "aixi con hauets la decima de "nostres prelats, que nos laus "darem de nostra terra, e creats "que con quey metam mes noy "metrem menys."

[2] Nalart, which is the contraction of En Alart (En Artal?).

were silent. On that he told the Master of the Temple and Johan Carcella[1] to speak. The Master of the Temple said, "Sire, let Miçer Johan de Car-
"cella speak, who has been a brother [of our order]
"for sixty years." Brother Johan replied to him, "Master, the question is not one of years of service in the brotherhood." Then the Pope told the Master to speak, which he did; but though he ought to have said that the Pope thanked me for what I had said concerning the expedition beyond sea, the Master said nothing of the kind; nor that himself and the others thanked me for my offers: he only observed that an expedition to the land beyond sea required great consideration in matters of arms, and food, and especially of men disposed to the work. People, he said, had not there what they needed of all that.[2] Still, he gave as his opinion that from two hundred and fifty to three hundred knights, with five hundred footmen, would be wanted at first. When I heard the Master say so, I could not refrain from answering, "Master,
"if the Pope is willing to send five hundred, how
"many will be there under you?"

[1] "E sobre aço dex ell al Maestre
"del Temple, e an Johan Descar-
"çela quey dixessen, e dix lo
"Maestre del Temple: Xire, diga
"Misser Johan Descarçella." See above p. 645, note 1.

[2] "E encara maiorment del cor
"dels homens que noy havien, e
"encara la gent que noy hi hauien
"la que mester hi hauien."

DXXXIII.

Then the Pope asked what navy might the Soldan have? and the Master said, "Sire, so help me God, "I heard that he did his utmost in fitting out ships "when he wished to besiege Acre: but he could "not fit out seventeen ships, galleys, and other "smaller craft." Then the Pope said, "Then we will require as many, or, perhaps, twenty." I interfered, and said, "Holy Father, you shall not; for if "you only fit out ten from my land, I will warrant "that those ten ships shall not take flight before "eighteen or twenty of the enemy: they will take "them all by the throat."[1]

DXXXIV.

Then En Alart de Balari stood up and said,[2] "Sire, this is a mighty affair. Great forces have "passed thither long ago on various occasions. I "will tell you what this is like; it is like the little "dog barking at the big great one,[3] who takes no "heed of him. Kings and many great men have

[1] Los pendran tots per la gola.

[2] Alart de Balari's speech is reported in Northern French, or in what was then supposed to be such. "Sesta xosa si es gran xosa que tant home a lay passa tan lonch temps," &c. (Ceste chose si est grande chose, que tant home a la hi passant tant long temps.) The modern edition has Valari instead of Balari.

[3] "Ara si uos diray vna sem-"blança del chen petit quant "ladre al gran Ca (*sic*) e ell non "ha cura." Did the author mean the Grand Khan as a sort of calembour, chan (chien) and can (dog)? At any rate the sentence is omitted in the modern Barcelona edition.

"passed beyond sea, and yet have been unable to "recover and hold the land, wherefore I hold as "good the counsel given by the Master of the "Temple." All were silent. Thereupon I turned to the Pope, and said, "Holy Father, since no one "else will speak, let me go." The Pope said, "Go, with God's blessing." [1]

DXXXV.

Then I stood up and went out with my suite, after saying to them, "Barons, we may now depart, for "this has been a day of honour and glory to all "Spain." I accordingly went out, and mounted my horse; Juan de Gili [2] was there with me. I spurred the horse on, and made him make a great curvet; upon which the French said, "Lo, the king is not "so old as people said! He could still give a Turk "a good lance-thrust." I then went to my quarters in the city.

DXXXVI.

Next day I sent for En Ramon March, and for En Berenguer de Cascanet, who were born liegemen of mine, and much in the Pope's confidence.[3] I told them privately, that if it pleased the Pope, I would be crowned by him, as God had brought me to his council. It would be a greater houour to me to

[1] Vay a la benedixio de domini Dei!!

[2] Johan de Grili.

[3] "E priuats molt del *Apostolic*." Thus does James invariably call the Pope.

receive the crown at that council than if I had actually gone to Rome for it. I had the crown with me: he should set it on my head; not so good an one could be got in Lyons. It was made of gold, and set with precious stones, worth more than a hundred thousand sous "tournois." They said they would tell the Pope, and that what I had told them pleased them much; they would come next day with a full answer.

DXXXVII.

Next morning they came to me, and brought me word from the Pope that it pleased him well, and that he would forthwith crown me with pleasure, only that I was to confirm a sort of tribute, which my father had once granted him on the kingdom of Aragon when he was crowned at Rome, which was of two hundred and fifty masmodines jusefichs,[1] that I should pay the arrears of it, and

[1] Here the modern Barcelona edition has "que era de CCL. *masmudines jussiphies*," whilst in that of 1557 the reading is *mas-Modines guafichs*. Both are evidently wrong. The "masmudí," مصمودى, was the gold coin introduced by the Almohades (Al-muwahidin) kings of Spain, and *Yusefi*, يوسفى, that which Abu *Yusuf* Yaâkub, the third sultan of that dynasty, is known to have issued with his name. As Yaâkub (Abu Yúsuf) had a son named Abu Yaâkub *Yúsuf*, it is not easy to determine which of the two Almowahidins gave its name to the dinars, or "doblas," so denominated, the adjective *Yusefi*, or *Yusufí*, being applicable to both monarchs, father and son. At any rate their belonging to the Berber tribe of the Masmudah leaves no doubt as to the coin called *Masmudí* having been struck by the Almohade Kings of Africa and Spain, as the "morabitins" were so called from the Almoravid Sultans." See above, p. 162.

henceforth do what my father had engaged to do. My answer was that I wondered much how tribute, said to be owing since my father's time till then, and which would amount to more than eleven thousand sous, could be demanded of me; but if the Pope wished it much, I would, nevertheless, give it him. I had so freely given him advice and offered aid, that it was not becoming in him to ask for anything, but rather to give me. I would not, however, make new deeds and charters to put myself and my descendants under such obligation: I had done such service to God and to the Church of Rome, that those trifles should not intervene between me and them.

DXXXVIII.

They said they would return to the Pope, and tell him of my answer in the way I had explained the matter to them. And they went away and told him of it. The Pope answered that, as far as he himself and the cardinals with him were concerned, they would readily give up their claim; but there were En Richart and En Juan Guayta,[1] who were among the greatest cardinals and the wisest in council at Rome, without whom he could do nothing in the matter. This was the answer they brought me from the Pope. I replied that I had not come to the

[1] "En Ricart e en Johan Gaytá" in the modern edition. Gaytá is likely to be meant for Gaetanus or the Archbishop of Gaeta.

papal court to put myself under tribute, but for him to make us guests: since he would not do that, I would rather return home without the crown than with it. So the matter remained, and I refused to be crowned by the Pope.

DXXXIX.

After this, another general council of the prelates of the Church there present was held, and I attended it. When the Pope got to the end of his discourse, he praised me greatly and the proffers I had made, and ordered that throughout Christendom there should be special prayer for me at High Mass, and that the Mass of the Holy Ghost should be said for me. He also ordered the clergy, who were not priests, and could not say mass, to recite Psalms [1] for me; to give thanks to God for my good will towards the enterprise of the Holy Land, and to pray God to grant me a long life and health that I might fulfil those things and others to the honour of God and of the Church. He finished his discourse, and I went away.

DXL.

Next day I went again to see the Pope, and spoke to him on behalf of En Henry of Castile,[2] that it

[1] "Que dixessen lo Saltiri per nos."

[2] "E pregam lo del feyt den "Anrich de Castella, que si a ell "plagues no fos en presó." Henry (Enrique) was Alfonso's brother; he was then a prisoner of Charles d' Anjou, king of Naples.

might please him that the prince should not remain in prison, for the Church, I said, was in bad repute thereby. As it was for the sake of the Holy Church itself that King Charles of Naples kept him prisoner, as people said, and the king himself maintained that En Henry was not a man to be admitted to ransom, unless I and the King of Castile would undertake that no harm should come henceforward through him to the Church of Rome or to King Charles.

DXLI.

To that the Pope replied that, saving my honour, those who said that did not speak well. Henry was not in prison through the Church, nor had he ever asked Charles to keep him prisoner. He further alleged that En Henry had said of him many injurious things, and had, moreover, done him wrong. "Well," said I, "it pleases me to hear your reasoning about En Henry, for I can report it elsewhere." I, however, begged him not to omit asking King Charles for his liberation on my sake. He promised that he would do so, for he sincerely wished that Henry was out of prison.

DXLII.

I had then been there [at Lyons] twenty days, and on the twenty-first, when I had made up my mind to depart, I again went to him at vespers in order to take leave. I took him apart, and said, "Holy "Father, I wish to leave, but not, as the proverb

"says: 'whoever goes to Rome a fool, comes away "'a fool;'[1] let it not be so with me. I never saw "any pope but yourself, and so I wish to confess to "you." He was much pleased and content, and said he would confess me. I told him my sins, and, on the other hand, what I remembered of the good deeds I had done. He imposed no other penance on me but that I should keep from evil for the future, and persevere in good. Then I went on my knees before him, and he put his hand on my head, and gave me his blessing full five times; I kissed his hand and took my leave. Next day I left the town [Lyons] and went to Vienne;[2] thence I returned to Catalonia.

DXLIII.

When I was at Gerona, they told me that the Infante [Don Pedro] demanded from En Berenguer de Uriols[3] a fief that he held through En Ponz Guillen de Torroela,[4] which fief the Infante said he had no power to leave to his daughter. As soon as I heard of it, I said I would make the Infante abandon that

[1] "Qui fol ua a Roma pech sen torna" in the modern edition. The first of 1557 has: "Qui foll sen va a Roma, foll sen torna."

[2] "E altre dia exim nos a "Viana, e puix tornan nosen en "Cathalunya," in the edition of 1537; but I prefer the reading in the modern edition, for although *Viana* is no doubt intended for Vienne in the Dauphinois, and in two different places (No. 524, p. 639), the author himself says that he was there and received a message from the Pope, I fancy that the reading "exim de la vila" is to be preferred.

[3] En Berenguer Dorriols.

[4] Whose daughter En Berenguer had married. Zurita, *Anales*, iii. c. 88.

attempt : it would not be well that a man could not leave his fief to his daughter as well as to his son or any other relation. Thereon I sent En Berenguer de Saint Vincent to Solsona, where the Catalonian barons had assembled to make a league against me. En Berenguer found there En Arnau de Torrelles, whom the Infante had sent on the other side. He delivered to them my message, begging them not swear to any compact against the Infante nor against me ; for that declaration, which they said the Infante had made, I would engage to have revoked [if it was against the law of the land]. They replied that they had sworn to nothing against me, but only to the maintenance of the customs and usages of their ancestors. En Berenguer replied, " Then why do " you make this assembly here ? Since the king " has sent to tell you that the Infante's pretensions, " if unjust, shall come to nought, you ought not to " make league against him, for he has it not in mind " to do you wrong in any usage or custom or in " anything else." The barons, however, would not refrain, and held their meeting there at Solsona. So En Berenguer left them, and the news of what was being done there came to me.

DXLIV.

After this, I entered Barcelona, and En Ramon de Cardona and the barons sent to me En Guillen de Castell auli (*sic*) and En Guillen de Rajadell, to say

they wished to speak with me before my court. I was well content at this. They said they saluted me, and prayed me, and came to me for grace, not to do them wrong. For I had, they said, done them wrong by seizing their fiefs and "honors" without a previous judgment in my court. As I had seized their property before trial, I should restore it to them ; they were ready to do me amend as my court might think fit. My reply was, that I did not shun the justice of the court, but desired that they should do what the usage required, and should avoid what it forbade : to that I would adhere at all times. A trial was not required for that, for the case had been already decided by my predecessors and theirs. They replied that it was neither law nor usage ; nor did it look like law that a lord should oust a vassal of his possession without the law's cognizance, and that I ought to have judgment on that matter. I replied that it was certain that they held the fiefs for me : I had demanded services of them, and they had not been willing to perform those services ; wherefore I had taken the fiefs from them. And as it was a thing already judged, no other trial could there be ; they could get nothing else from me.

DXLV.

When the barons saw they could get nothing else from me, they renounced allegiance to me and to my son, the Infante En Pedro. Before the

days of grace allowed in such cases[1] had expired, they went to Fligueres (Figuera), which belonged to the Infante En Pedro, and, despite their offer to abide by what the law might determine thereon, they burnt the town and destroyed it completely. So when I was going to succour the town, and was at Gerona for the purpose, I learned they had already destroyed it. I therefore returned to Barcelona to take counsel on that evil deed, and to proceed against them as it should be done by law. A line of defence moreover was made for the protection of any other towns. While thus engaged on that, the Bishop of Barcelona, and the Master of Uclés, En Gonsalvo Ibañez, came and prayed me to be pleased to let them go speak with the barons, and take them out of that bad way in which they knew well they were. I replied that I was well pleased.

DXLVI.

Forthwith, that same day, a letter came to me from the Bailli of Tortosa, announcing that the King of Castile and the Queen and his sons were to enter that town on the following Thursday. When I heard the contents of that letter, I prepared to go towards the King of Castile, to receive him and honour him. Next day I moved from Barcelona

[1] "E ans quels dies dels acuyndaments nostres fossen exits," that is, before hostilities, after a declaration of war made in such cases.

and went to Villafranca. There came before me the Bishop of Barcelona, En Ramon de Cardona, En Berenguer de Puguert, and many other Catalonian barons, and they called on me for mercy, begging me to pardon them if in anything they had erred against me: also beseeching that I should give them judges, who should find if they had done me wrong, or I to them. Thereupon, being willing to grant their prayers, I gave them as judges the Archbishop of Tarragona, the Bishop of Gerona, the Abbot of Fontfreda, En Ramon de Moncada, En Pere de Berga, En Joffre de Rochaberti, and En Pere de Queralt. Then they entered Tarragona with me, and there, with the assent of the said judges, I appointed a day for them—that of Mid Lent—on which all the barons of Catalonia and Aragon should be at Lerida. I and my son, the Infante En Pedro, would also be there on that day, when the aforesaid judges would take cognizance of the questions between me and them. A record was drawn to that effect. Next day the King of Castile came to Tarragona, and the Queen (his wife), and all his sons, except Don Fernando. I departed thence, and he came with me to Barcelona, and there kept Christmas with me.

DXLVII.

After keeping Christmas, the King of Castile asked for my advice, saying that he wished to go to

the Papal court in person, respecting the wrong the Pope had done him in the matter of the Empire,[1] and in many other things. I advised him by no means to go ; it was not befitting him to go to so distant a land, and leave his kingdom. He would, moreover, have to pass through the country of the King of France, of whom he had fears. Yet Alfonso would not follow the advice I gave him, and went to see the Pope. As soon as he had left Barcelona, I myself departed for Lerida, to be in time for the day appointed with my barons for the Cortes. The Infante En Pedro went with me, and took up quarters in the castle. En Ramon de Cardona, the Count of Ampurias, the Count of Paylars (Pallars), and other barons of Aragon and Catalonia were all assembled in Corbins, as they would not enter Lerida. There were there Fernan Sanchez de Castre, En Artal de Luna, En Pedro Cornell, and many others. They would not go into Lerida because they said they were afraid. I sent them word that I would protect

[1] Richard of Cornwall and Alfonso X., as is well known, had each been "elected" to the German empire by certain electors; Richard's being then, and now, considered of the two the better election. Upon Richard's death, Alfonso seems, strangely enough, to have thought that he could make his own election valid. Germany happened to be of a different opinion, and, accordingly, Rudolph of Hapsburg was elected and installed. The Pope had confirmed or adopted his election ; so that Alfonso's proposed visit came clearly too late, and was useless. If Alfonso could do anything to make his position towards the Pope more hopeless, he did it, by speaking of claims he fancied he had through the female side to represent the House of Swabia, and to the dominions and rights of that ancient enemy of the papacy.

them against any man ; still they would not go in, but sent En Guillem de Castelìauli and En Guillen de Rajadell as their attorneys.[1] Then they asked me to name their advocates ; I named En Ramon de Valles, a canon of Lerida, and En Ramon Gili.

DXLVIII.

Then I brought forth the accusation against them. They said they were not bound to make any answer till I had restored to Fernan Sanchez all that the Infante En Pere had taken from him. I replied to them that I was in nowise bound to have the property restored to Fernan Sanchez, inasmuch as he, Exemen de Urrea, En Artal de Luna, and En Pere Cornell had committed hostilities against the Infante En Pere without previous notice, and had done him unwarrantable injury ; and, therefore, that I was not bound to restore anything to them : especially as Fernan Sanchez had taken by force the castles of Alcaçar and Nabal,[2] which he held against all right and would not return them, as he ought.

DXLIX.

On that the judges gave an interlocutory : that the attorneys ought not to set up the objection before stated, and were bound to make defence. So the judges took up the accusation,[3] and gave it to

[1] Attorneys (*procuradors*) ; advocates (*rahonadors*). En R. de Vals canonge de Leyda e En R. Gili.

[2] Lo castell Dalquecer e de Nabal.

[3] Libell.

the attorneys, but they would not take it, and threw it down on the floor. The court then broke up, having done nothing else. I paid the judges ten thousand sous for the expenses they had been at: the other party would not pay costs. I offered, besides, to abide by the sentence of the judges, whatever it might be; but they would not, and departed. That done, I sent the Infante En Pere into Aragon to defend my lands, and do what harm he could to the enemy. I myself went to Barcelona, and summoned my forces; and when they had assembled, marched against the Count of Ampurias. In the Ampurdan I learned that my son, the Infante En Jacme, was already besieging La Rocha, a castle of the Count of Ampurias. I went there, and made him raise the siege. Next day I went into Perpignan to see my daughter, the Queen of Castile, who had been there ever since her husband, the King of Castile, left the country to go to the Pope.

DL.

Before I departed thence, there came news to me how the Infante En Pere, laying siege to a castle[1] of Fernan Sanchez, had taken the said Fernan Sanchez prisoner, and had drowned him. I was glad to hear of this, for it was a very hard thing that he, being my son, should have risen against me, who had done

[1] The Castle of Pomar, on the Cinca. Fernan Sanchez was taken while trying to escape, disguised as a peasant, during a sortie of the garrison.—Zurita *Anales*, iii. c. 95.

so much for him, and given him so honourable an heritage. When I left Perpignan, I went to meet my forces of Barcelona—those that came by land : I found them at La Bisbal. Going thence, I passed by a castle of En Dalmau de Rochaberti called Calabug, which I took and demolished. Then I went to meet the other part of my forces of Barcelona, which came by sea ; and, with those and the others united, laid siege to Rosas, a castle of the Count of Ampurias. Meanwhile, En Ramon de Cardona, En Pere de Berga, and other Catalonian barons, hearing of that, had thrown themselves into Castellon, where the Count of Ampurias was, and they remained there some days.

DLI.

Then they came to me at the said siege of Rosas, and brought me the Count of Ampurias, and put him in my power to deal with him at my pleasure ; especially that he should be subject to my judgment as to the matter of the town Figueras, belonging to the Infante, which he had burnt and demolished. As I saw that the Count had put himself in my power, as above said, and that, by this very act, the accomplishment of my wishes might take place, I raised the siege of the place and went into Gerona. There I brought many charges against the Count. He came before me with En Pere de Berga, and both begged me to summon to Cortes at Lerida,

both of Catalans and Aragonese; there the Count would make answer to all those accusations, and would do all I demanded of him; besides which, the Cortes would serve my purpose in having other matters settled in Catalonia and Aragon.[1] Having heard their prayer, I granted it them, and said that I would willingly arrange that my son, the Infante En Pere, should be there present. The Cortes were summoned for All Saints' Day.

DLII.

While I was at Gerona, news came that Don Fernando, the eldest son of the King of Castile, and my grandson, was dead.[2] I received that news with great grief. Then I proceeded to the Cortes, which I had summoned to Lerida, and which I and my son, the Infante En Pedro, attended; on the other side there came En Ramon de Cardona, the Count of Pallars, the Count of Ampurias, and other barons of Catalonia and Aragon. There were, besides, En Berenguer Guillen de Entença, En Garcia de Ortiz, and some other barons. Before my son, the Infante En Pere, arrived and entered Lerida, the above said Catalonian barons held a parley with me, and prayed me, among other things, to confirm to the Count of Pallars the fiefs of Berga and other places,

[1] "E que aquela Cort uendria "en cas que tota Cathalunya et "Arago poriem endreçar."

[2] Don Fernando de la Cerda, son of Alfonso X. and of Yoland (Violante), James's daughter, died in August, 1275.

which En Pere de Berga, who had recently died, had bequeathed to him. En Pere, they said, had held them of me as fiefs, and if I did and performed that, they would do and establish in the Cortes whatever I commanded, and would do anything I wished in Catalonia as to putting in order the country, which should be equally acceptable to me and to them. I replied that as soon as the Infante came I would speak with him, and would so adjust matters that if in anything he had done them wrong, he should repair it forthwith.

DLIII.

When my son, the said Infante, came, I spoke with him ; and his answer was : that if, peradventure, I considered that he was in any way liable to the Catalonian and Aragonese barons, or had done them any wrong, he very willingly would repair it to my satisfaction. This answer of my son was transmitted to the said barons ; but when I, in the presence of the chief men *(prohomens)* of Lerida, desired to speak with the said barons, they, without any other leave-taking, departed from the town. So that in the said Cortes, as regarded what I had to discuss and redress with them, nothing whatever was done.

DLIV.

While I was staying at Lerida, after the said Cortes, there came to me a message bearing that

the whole populace of Valencia had combined against my sovereignty, gutted and destroyed many houses of certain chief men of the town, and done many other evil things. I had also news that En Miguel Perez, with a considerable body of footmen, had set about sacking many places inhabited by Saracens in the said kingdom of Valencia. And I, for the two reasons above stated, first to punish the aggressors, and then to set things in order, having despatched the business I had at Lerida, prepared to go to Valencia in person. When I got close to the said city of Valencia, I sent my son, En Pere Fernandez de Ijar, with a company of knights and footmen, against the said Miguel Perez and his band. When Miguel Perez and the others heard of my displeasure and of my sending forces against them, they, for fear of me, left the kingdom and went elsewhere. Those who remained behind, I caused to be taken and executed according to law.

DLV.

That done, I caused inquisition against those who had destroyed the houses of some of the chief men of the city *(prohomens)*, as above said; and had them convicted, punishing them with a fine of a hundred thousand sous. While I was about to proceed against some of the city men, who had, for the same reason, made themselves liable to corporal punishment, news came to me that the Kaid

Ibrahim had revolted, and had fortified a castle which I, some time before, had dismantled, named Sierra de Finestral. When I heard that, leaving the business I had at Valencia, I set about scouring the country where the castle was. When I came to Alcira, I had news that the Saracens of Thous had also revolted with the castle. I sent them a message desiring them to deliver to me the said castle: they made me answer that if I allowed them ten days, they would surrender it to me; which, however, they would not do, but strengthened themselves in it, owing to the report that a body of their own countrymen was coming to their aid. When I knew their intention, I went to Xativa.

DLVI.

At Xativa I had news of the Moorish light horse that had entered the country. I resolved to send forty horsemen to garrison the town of Alcoy, and to reinforce also the castle of Cocentayna, by which the Moorish horse would have to pass. When as many as two hundred and fifty of the Moorish horse had come to Alcoy to attack it, they encountered some of my forces, and suffered great loss in the fight, for their captain, named Aladrach, the same who once before had revolted against me, and had taken some castles in the kingdom of Valencia, agreeing at last to abandon the country for ever, was among the slain.

After that the forty horsemen before mentioned, without any plan agreed on between them, having attempted to pursue the Moorish horse, fell into an ambush laid for them, when the greater part of the Christians were slain or taken prisoners. When the Moors of the country heard what had befallen the Christians by the force and skill of the Moorish horse, they proceeded to attack some castles which I had not fortified; for I had no idea that they intended to revolt against me who was their lord. I therefore took measures to reduce them to obedience, according to their force and the power they had.

DLVII.

Seeing the treacherous intention of the said Moors, I sent for my barons and knights, of whom En Garcia Ortiz and the Master of the Temple came the very first. When they were at Valencia, there came about a thousand Moorish footmen to ravage Liria; my people numbered scarcely a hundred and twenty horsemen, but they overtook the Moorish footmen, and defeated them, killing as many as two hundred and fifty of them without any loss to themselves but that of five horses and an esquire.

DLVIII.

On the return of my people to Valencia, they proceeded to join me at Xativa. When they had

come, I got news that the Moorish light horse were passing through the valley of Albaida; they came to help the Moors of Beniopá,[1] whom my son, En Pere Fernandez de Ijar,[2] by my orders was besieging. He afterwards took them all [prisoners]; there were fully two thousand of them. When the Moorish horse knew that the people of Beniopá had all been taken, they went to the Pobla de Llugent,[3] took it, and fortified it. As soon as I knew that the Moors had fortified themselves in Llugent, I myself went against them to bring them out. I accordingly left Xativa at the head of my train of horse and foot. When I was out of the town, the Master of the Temple, En Garcia Ortiz, the Bishop of Huesca, and many others, begged me not to proceed on the intended expedition against the Moorish horse of Llugent, for the heat was great, and it might do me great harm, as I had been lately in rather weak health. I saw,

[1] "Pensaren de uenir a nos a Exativa" in both editions. This is the first time that the name of this town is written with an *e* at the beginning. *E-xativa*, instead of *Xativa*, as if that word were an Arabic noun preceded by the article. The *Sætabis* of the Romans was by the Valencian Moors converted into شاطبة, Xaṭiba, whence the Xativa, or Jativa, of the Spaniards.

[2] "Quen Pere Ferrandis Dixar, "fyl nostre, tenia assegats per "manament nostre." This Pedro Fernandez de Hijar, as he was called in Aragon, was a natural son of King James.

[3] "E quan saberen los ianets "(genets) quels moros de Beniopa "eran preses barrejaren la pobla "de Luxen: e mantinent nos "sabem aço que Luxen hauien "barrejat uolguem los exir a de- "nant." Barrejar (in Spanish, *barrear*) means to bar, to fortify a town by throwing up barricades across the streets.

moreover, that they were discontent with my intention, and as I wished to satisfy them, I returned to Xativa.

DLIX.

After that En Garcia Ortiz, the Master of the Temple, and their train, with a body of footmen, went as far as Lluxent at a time when, in consequence of the march they had made, and of the great heat of the day, they were quite exhausted by thirst, and their horses much wearied. As soon as they got into the district of Lluxent they came in sight of the Moorish horse, who might be from four to five hundred, with upwards of three thousand footmen. An engagement was fought, in which Garcia Ortiz de Zaga, his son, Don Berenguer de Entença, and many others, horsemen and footmen, were slain; whilst the Master of the Temple and some brothers were taken prisoners; though some days afterwards, being in the castle of Biar, they managed to escape, together with a Moorish "almocaten" [1] who was in guard of them.

[1] Almocaten (in Span. *almocaden*) means, properly speaking, the "captain, he who marches in front, or at the head of the host." The word is derived from the Arabic مُقدَّم, *mocaddam*, and may be rendered by "adelantado." In Spain, as late as the end of the sixteenth century, there were *adelantados* of Cazorla, of Castilla, of Andalucia, of Canarias, of La Florida, and many others, the charges and titles being filled by the descendants of those who first obtained them. Some equivalent may be found in our Lieutenant of the Marches, which seems to have been hereditary among the Howards.

DLX.

When I heard the news of the Christians' defeat, I was greatly grieved and had great sorrow over it. Some days afterwards while staying at Xativa, my son, the Infante En Pere, came, according to orders, with barons, knights, and a considerable train besides. He stayed some time at Xativa with all his force to keep that frontier against the Moors. And whilst he was there, either from the great trouble I had suffered, or because it was God's will that it should be so, some sickness came over me. I then went out of Xativa, and came to Alcira in order to send provisions to the Infante, and to his train. There the sickness again pressed on me and grew in such wise, that by the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ, being of very good and full understanding, I confessed myself several times to bishops, and to Dominican and Franciscan friars, with great contrition for my sins, and with great weeping. Then, being purged of my worldly sins by the said confession, with great joy and content I received the body of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

DLXI.

All that being done, it befell me that I was oppressed by the sickness; and I sent a message to my son the Infante En Pere, to come in person

to me at Alcira.[1] And he after inquiring from the messenger in what state I was, started from Xativa to fulfil my wish; and came, presenting himself to me the afternoon of the day in which he arrived. I received him, and he did me reverence as a good son ought to do to his father.

DLXII.

Next day he went to hear mass with me. Having heard mass, I said to him, in presence of the barons, knights, and citizens, the following words. Firstly, how Our Lord had honoured me in this world, especially over my enemies; and how He had made me reign in His service more than sixty years, longer than in the memory of man any king since David and Solomon had reigned; how I had loved Holy Church during that length of time; and farther how I had had the love and affection of all my people, and had been honoured by them. All which I acknowledged to come to me from Our Lord Jesus Christ, for that, on the whole, or for the greater part at least, I had striven to follow His way and His commandments. He (my son) should take example of me as regarded that good way, and then the same good would befall him if he did that.

[1] "Que ell personalment uingues a nos a Algezira." That Algezira, الجزيرة, the island, is now called Alcira by the suppression of one syllable, has already been observed at p. 444, note 2.

DLXIII.

Then I commanded and prayed him to love and honour my son, the Infante En Jacme, who was his brother both on the father's and on the mother's side, to whom I had given already a certain heritage, in such wise that they might have no contention with each other. And since I gave him, the oldest, a greater heritage and more honourable, he should hold himself content with it; this would be the easier for him to do, as the Infante En Jacme, I was sure, loved him and would obey him in all he should command as his elder brother. I also in presence of all the council commended to him the Bishop of Huesca, whom I had brought up from childhood till then; to whom through me a bishopric had been given, and who had been Chancellor of my Court till that day; him, he should love and honour, for honour and regard of myself. After that I commended to him the Sacristan of Lerida, brother of the said Bishop of Huesca, the Archdeacon of Urgel, and all the other clerks and learned men of my Court. And generally all my household servants, in all of whom (said I) he should put that trust that I had put up to that day, and they would be trustworthy to him as they had been to me. Many other words did I say to him, with my blessing; such words

as a father should say to his son for his good conduct, and which would be long to tell.[1]

DLXIV.

All that done, I prayed him to depart thence, and to put all the castles of the kingdom of Valencia in a state of defence by supplying them with provisions and other necessaries ; and well and stoutly to carry on the war against the Moors, until their complete expulsion from the kingdom of Valencia, for they were all traitors, and had shown me that many a time while I was acting kindly towards them, they were striving to do me injury, and deceive me when-

[1] By his third will, which bears the date of the 26th of August, 1272, King James modified some of the clauses of those of 1242 and 1270. After acknowledging his sons by Teresa Gil as legitimate, he substitutes them for those of his Queen Yoland, should these die without male issue. The King, however, did not die of that illness. In 1273 he was preparing to go to Castile, and help Alfonso in a crusade against the Granadine Moors. In April, 1275, the Amir of Morocco, Abu Yâcub, crossed the Straits at the head of considerable forces, and invaded Andalusia, and though James was too weakened by disease to run to the assistance of the Castilians, he nevertheless sent a body of troops under the command of his son, the Infante Don Pedro. In April, 1276, the formidable revolt of Al-azrak occurred (see chap. cccxli.), and the deed of abdication itself bears the date of the 21st July. Six days after, on Wednesday, the 27th, the king died, being then sixty-nine years old. Whoever completed this *Chronicle*—for it can hardly be supposed, as some historians will have it, that the king dictated the last chapters of it from his death-bed—confuses the last events of James's reign in such a way, that it is no easy matter to reconcile them with contemporary historical sources. I must refer the readers to *Jacme 1er le Conquérant, Roi d'Aragon*, by the Chevalier de Tourtoulon (Montpellier, 1867, 2 vols. 8vo), where this and other interesting points have been most ably discussed.

ever they could. The same, I said, would they now do to him if they remained in the land. And also I prayed him, in case I happened to die while he was engaged in fortifying the castles, not at that time to remove my body from the kingdom, as the country might then be in peril through the absence of the Infante En Pere.[1] Should my death happen at Alcira, the Bishop of Huesca and the others of my company were to bury me in Saint Mary's of Alcira, or in Saint Mary's of Valencia, according as I had already ordained. I further prayed the said Infante En Pere that when the war was over, he should carry my body to Saint Mary's of Poblet, to which monastery I had already bequeathed it.

DLXV.

All that being said, the aforesaid Infante, as a dutiful and obedient son, accepted the aforesaid requests and commands of mine as good and true; and promised to fulfil them to the letter. And before he departed from me, in his very presence, and in that of all who heard what I had said, I, for the honour of God and of His blessed Mother, who had given me, in this world, much honour and help, as well as for the remission of my sins, abdicated in favour of my son, the Infante En Pere, whom I

[1] Thus in the edition of 1557; the modern one of Barcelona, "per absencia del dit Infant en P.," which comes to the same, and yet "En P." is probably a mistake for En J. (En Jacme).

left and constituted my heir in all my lands and kingdoms. This, my abdication, being solemnly made, as I said, in presence of the barons, knights, and citizens who happened to be on the spot, I put on the frock of the Cistercian monks, and made myself a brother of that order; and my said son, the Infante En Pere, departed to execute the order I had given him, when all the barons and knights, with great lamentations and tears, took leave of me, and returned to Xativa, to fortify the frontiers.

DLXVI.

And some days afterwards, when, mindful of my desire to visit the monastery of Poblet, and serve the Mother of God at that place, I had left Alcira and reached Valencia, sickness increased on me, and it pleased our Lord that I should not complete the journey.

[And here, in Valencia, in the year of MCCLXXVI, on the Sixth of the Kalends of August,[1] the Noble En Jacme, by the Grace of God King of Aragon, Mallorca, and Valencia, Count of

[1] On Wednesday, the 27th of July (see above, p. 674, note 1), is the precise date assigned for James's death, though other days of the same month are also given. The practice of counting by kalends, the carelessness of scribes, the hour at which the king is said to have breathed his last (at midnight) have given rise to many errors.

Barcelona and Urgel, and Lord of Montpellier, passed from this world. "*Cujus anima per misericordiam Dei sine fine requiescat in pace.*"

Amen.

Finito libro, sit laus, gloria, Christo.

The King En Jacme lived, after he had taken Valencia, thirty-seven years.

APPENDIX A.

SIEGE ENGINES IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

ALTHOUGH the "nevrobalistic"[1] machinery of various kinds employed during the middle ages for the besieging of fortresses and towns has been fully described in special works treating on the *ars telorum*, or artillery, and some explanation of their use and appliance has occasionally been given in the notes to this volume;[2] yet, considering that the Spanish Moslems also made frequent use of such war-engines, nay, were greatly advanced in the construction of them, a few remarks on the subject will, perhaps, not be deemed inopportune. Several are named, and even minutely described in these pages, and all seem to have consisted of a pole or beam, at the end of which was placed a sling (*fundibulum*) destined to throw stones of great dimensions, as well as round leaden balls, against the walls of besieged fortresses; their names, according to their size and design, being: *fonevol*, *trebuch*, *manjanech*, *algarrada*, *bricola*, &c. It was at the siege of Palma, in Mallorca, that the greatest display of such war-engines was made, both on the side of the besiegers and on that of the besieged. From James's spirited narrative of that remarkable siege, which was once or twice on the point of being raised, it would appear that soon after the landing of the Christians on the island, before even the actual investment of Palma commenced, King James caused one "trabuquet" and one "almajanech" to be brought from the ships, and gave, besides, orders for the construction on shore of two more "trabuquets" and two "alcarrades."[3] These war implements not being considered sufficient to batter the walls of a city so strong as the capital of Mallorca, with

[1] From νευρον, chord, and βαλλω, I throw; Daniel, *Histoire de la Milice Française;* Louis Napoleon, *Études sur l'Artillerie;* Violet le Duc, *Architecture militaire.*

[2] See p. 139, and elsewhere.

[3] Also, and more correctly, called "algarrades."

its "almudayna," or citadel, is said to have been, the offer made by certain sailors from Marseilles of constructing after their own fashion, and at the king's cost, another large "trabuquet" with the yards and spars of their ships,[1] was gladly accepted; and the stones and missiles being procured, the siege began. The Moors, on the other hand, had two "trabuquets" and fourteen "algarrades," one of which was so powerful that it threw large stones over the fifth or sixth row of tents in the camp, although, says James, the "trabuquet" brought from the ships threw much farther than any the besieged had. In addition to this, and in order to protect the engines, a "mantel," built on wheels, and made of "cledes," three deep, with strong good timbers underneath, was made by En Jaçpert, James's chief engineer, the "mantel" itself having a roof of hurdles and brushwood, with earth on the top so as to protect it from the shot of the enemy's "algarrades," as well as from their attempt to set it on fire. By means of which "mantel," and of another which the Count of Ampurias caused to be made by his own retainers, the moat was approached, and a mine dug under the city wall, which enabled the besiegers to sap the outer towers, supporting them on props of wood, which, being set on fire, made them come down with a most tremendous clash.[2] At the siege of Burriana, which lasted from May to July, 1232, a huge wooden tower (*castell de fust*), which an engineer named Niccoloso, a native of Auvergne (?), had constructed for the purpose of assailing that fortress, was so injured by the shots of the Moorish "algarrades," that it was deemed necessary to draw it back into the camp. En Bernard Guillen d'Entença, a natural son of Guillaume de Montpellier, and, therefore, uncle of James, was wounded in the defence of certain "cledes" (hurdles), to which the enemy successfully set fire (p. 277).

The destructive war-engines above alluded to were also employed in no less efficient a manner, since they frequently served to shoot into the besieged city the carcasses of dead beasts to infect the enemy with, and sometimes, too, the heads of prisoners. King James himself (p. 143) exults at having given orders that the head of Infantilla, a near relative of the King of Mallorca,

[1] The people of Marseilles had six ships at the conquest of the Balearic.

[2] See p. 147, where a curious description is given of a tower, which had been undermined, coming down with its defenders by means of a rope attached to the props.

Abú Yaḥya, should be placed in the sling of an "almajanech," and then thrown into the city ! !

The "brigola" was a smaller kind of war-engine, principally used for the defence of towns and castles. It will be found that the Moors of Puig d'Enesa, Valencia, and Xátiva had several at their disposal, with which they were enabled to defend themselves, and occasionally oblige the conqueror to raise the siege. Moncada and Museros, Alcira and Cullera, made a gallant defence, and had it not been for the large siege-train, which the conqueror always took with him, might have prolonged indefinitely the surrender (p. 297). Again the "algarrada," seemingly derived from عرد *aarada, procul jecit lapidem*, was much in use among the Spanish Moslems. As early as the eighth century—indeed, shortly after the final conquest of Spain by the Arabs—the amir or governor, Alcama, is reported to have made use of one at the siege of Gijon, in the Asturias. In the hijra of 672 (A.D. 1293) Abú Yúsuf Yâcúb, the Almohade, employed against Sigilmesa, in Africa, several war-engines, named منجانف *manjánic* عردات *âaradát*, and others.[1]

Two or three times in this Chronicle the word "bastida" is used to designate a wooden tower upon wheels, such as a besieging army would employ to approach the walls of a fortified town. *Balestas a deu pes* are likewise mentioned as equally used by Christians and Moslems. They were, as it appears, different and larger than the *balesta a torn* (windlass cross-bow), and served for shooting javelins from the top of towers. As to the "manganel," or *mangonneau Turquesque*,[2] as the French called it, we take it to be a form of the Greek μαγανον, afterwards corrupted into *majanech* and *al-majanech* by the Moors themselves.

APPENDIX B.

THE ALMOGAVARS OF CATALONIA AND ARAGON.

ALMOGAVAR is an Arabic word مُغَاوِر (*mughawer*, and with the article *al-mughawer*), a participle or noun of agent from غار *gara*,

[1] Ibn Khaldún, *History of the Berbers*. Numerous quotations might be adduced from the Arabic Chronicles of Africa and the Spanish Peninsula to show that war-engines of the above description were much in use among the Moslems.

[2] This name, however, must have been applied to the engine in the latter end of the fifteenth century when the Turks began to be known in Europe.

"he made a hostile or predatory incursion into the enemy's country." From the same root are derived the Spanish words *algara* and *algarada*, meaning the incursion or foray thus made, as well *almogávar* the soldier so employed. The name was given to a sort of militia, originally from Catalonia, but which in the course of time spread also to Aragon and Navarre, and counted in its ranks volunteers of all nations, Christians as well as Mohammedans.[1] It was they who in the thirteenth century conquered Sicily and part of Morea. They fought generally on foot, although in Castile, at least, some of them were mounted, constituting a sort of light cavalry. Their officers and captains were called *almocadem* from the Arabic مقدم *præpositus*, *dux*, in Spanish *almocaden* and *adelantado*. Ibn Khaldún and other historians frequently mention the *almogawars* as a sort of militia employed in border warfare.

APPENDIX C.

ON THE BENI HUD DYNASTY.

SCARCELY half a century had elapsed since the conquest of Spain by the Arabs under Tárik and Músa Ibn Nosayr, when a fugitive from Damascus, descended from Muâwiyah, the Khalif, established his rule in that country, and separated it from the African "amirate." Abdu-r-raḥmán *Ad-dákhil*[2] were his name and surname; he was the grandson of the Khalif Hixém, and the founder of a dynasty, which comprised no less than sixteen princes, and lasted nearly three centuries, from A.H. 138 to A.H. 422 (A.D. 756 to 1027). But Abdu-r-raḥmán's accession to power in Moḥammedan Spain was not effected without much labour and bloodshed, not till the defeat of the many and powerful partisans of the Abbasides, who ruled in the East. At Saragossa, and in the districts south of the Pyrenees, two chiefs, named Al-ḥuseyn Ibn Yaḥia Al-khazraji, and Suleymán Al-ârabí, revolted, and defied for a time all the power of the Cordoban

[1] For an account of this militia see Desclot, *Historia de Cataluña*, chap. lxxix. and ciii.: Ramon Muntaner, *Chron.*, chap. lxii. and lxiv. Rousseuw de St. Hilaire, *Histoire d'Espagne*, l. xxii., p. 495, and above all, Tourtoulon, *Jacme I., le Conquérant*, Montpellier, 1863, tom. i., pp. 281–4.

[2] Ad-dákhil, that is "the invader"; he was also called *Sakr Koraish* (the saker or hawk of Coraysh).

Amír,[1] until Al-ḥuseyn treacherously slew Suleymán,[2] and he himself fell into the hands of Abdu-r-raḥmán, who had him executed. Successive governors appointed by the Beni Umeyyah, with now and then an occasional revolt, maintained the Islamite rule in upper and lower Aragon until the civil war, *alfetna*,[3] and the final overthrow of that powerful dynasty by the Beni Ḥammúd at the beginning of the eleventh century, when the empire of the Spanish Umeyyah was broken up into several petty kingdoms.[4]

A Togibite of the name of Almundhir.Ibn Yaḥya, himself the head of the Beni Tojíb, who at the conquest of Spain by Músa had settled in Aragon, happened to be governor of Saragossa and the surrounding districts at the time that through the defeat and death of Abdu-r-raḥmán, the son of Al-mansúr, the wretched Hixém II., the last of the Cordovan Khalifs, had become a mere puppet in the hands of his ministers and generals. Al-mundhir then proclaimed independence, styled himself "amir," had coins struck with own his name,[5] and assumed other insignia of royalty, reigning undisturbed until A.H. 414 (A.D. 1023-4), when he was succeeded by his son Yaḥya, who, at the end of 430 or beginning of 431, was treacherously slain by Suleymán Ibn Húd, the founder of the dynasty since known as the Beni Húd of Aragon.

This Suleymán was the son of Aḥmed Ibn Moḥammad of the tribe of Jodhám (Al-jodhámi), and belonged to a family

[1] Abdu-r-raḥmán and his immediate successors contented themselves with the title of *Amír al moslemín bil-Andalus*, or prince of the Spanish Moslems. It was not until the days of Abdu-r-raḥmán III., *An-násir lidínillah*, in A.H. 317 (A.D. 930), that the Beni Umeyyah assumed the title of *Khalifah*.

[2] Suleymán, the rival of Ḥuseyn, belonged to the tribe of Kelb (Al-Kelbi), and is generally designated under the patronymic of Ibn Yokdhán Al-ârabi. He seems to be the same chief described in old Chronicles as *Ibnelarabí*, who was in frequent communication with Charlemagne, and is said to have implored his help against his own liege lord, Abdu-r-raḥmán.

[3] *Al-fetna* means dissension, separation, civil war. So did the Arabs call the period of nearly eighty years from the usurpation of Moḥammad II., *Al-muḥdi*, in 1009, to the arrival of the Al-moravides in 1092. A second *al-fetna* was that which followed the fall of the Almohades in the thirteenth century.

[4] The various independent rulers in the provinces of Mohammedan Spain are generally designated under the name of ملوك الطوايف *molúk Al-tawáyif* (kings of parties), for *táyifa* (in Sp. *taïfa*) means an assembly of people, and fraction of a party.

[5] Al-mundhir, like most of Mohammedan rulers in the Peninsula, took no other title than that of *Amír* (prince, commander), and never failed to acknowledge either the supremacy of Hixém II., whose name and title of Imám continued on coins long after his death: or else that of the Eastern Khalif, though very often ignoring his name, he was called simply *Al-imám Abdallah* (the servant of God), *Amira-l-múmenin*. That is on the reverse, for on the face of the coin each prince struck his own name.

established at Saragossa since the conquest. Himself the founder of a powerful dynasty, he assumed the title of *Al-mustâin-billah* (he who implores or expects the help of God), and reigned from 431 (A.D. 1039) to A.H. 438 (A.D. 1046-7), when he was succeeded by his son Aḥmed Abú Jaâfar *Al-muktadir-billah*, to A.H. 474 (A.D. 1081-2); then came Yúsuf Abú-l-ḥejáj *Al-mutamen-billah*, to A.H. 478 (A.D. 1085-6), whose son, Aḥmed II., also surnamed *Al-mustâín-billah*, like his great grandfather, the founder of the Hudite dynasty, lost the battle of Alcoraza, near Huesca, in 1096, and was slain before Saragossa in 1110, leaving a son named Abdu-l-malek *Imádo-d-daulah*, under whose reign Alfonso I. of Aragon took Saragossa A.D. 1118, when Abdu-l-malek is said to have retired to a strong castle of his own called Roṭah (Roda), where he maintained himself until his death in 1140. His son Aḥmed III., surnamed *Seyfo-d-daulah* (the sword of the State),[1] took momentary possession of Cordova, Murcia, and other towns, and kept up a desultory war with Sancho and Alfonso VIII. of Castile until an agreement being signed between that latter monarch and himself, Aḥmed surrendered the whole of his possessions in Spain for a pension and an estate in Toledo. He is said to have died in Shaâban A.H. 540 (Jan. A.D. 1146).

APPENDIX D.

THE CONQUEST OF MALLORCA.

MALLORCA, by the Arabs called ميورقة, is the principal island of the Balearic group. First overrun and sacked by Abdallah, the son of Músa Ibn Noṣayr, about the time that Spain was invaded (A.D. 714–6), it was not fairly subjected to the rule of Islám until the Aglabites first, and the Fatimites after them, made it the centre of their predatory incursions on Sicily. It formed afterwards, in the ninth and tenth centuries, part of the empire of the Beni Umeyyah of Cordoba until the final overthrow of that powerful dynasty in the eleventh century, when a Slavonian named Mujáhid مجاهد a freed slave of Abdu-r-raḥmán, the son of Al-mansúr, having risen at Denia, on the Mediterranean coast, of which he was governor, fitted out some galleys, landed at Mallorca,

[1] Called "Zafadola" by the Spanish writers. A member of this family, the Beni Húd, said to have been the son of Yúsuf, and grandson of Abdu-l-malek, the fifth of the Aragonese Hudites, rose in 1228 against the Almoḥades in the East of Spain, as will be related in App. H.

and took possession of that island, as well as of Menorca, Iviza, and the rest of the Balearic, in the name, as it is said, of Hixém II., the Cordoban Khalif, but most likely as an independent ruler. In 407 (A.D. 1015–17) Mujáhid conquered and sacked Sardinia, but was on his return home wrecked with almost the whole of his fleet; and though he himself succeeded in reaching a port in his dominions he died soon after, in A.H. 436 (A.D. 1044–45). Mujáhid was succeeded by his son *Al-murtadha* المرتضى, whose proper name is uncertain—some writers calling him Ali and others Omar—who was shortly after dethroned by Mubáshir, مباشر once a freed slave of his father. This Mubáshir, on ascending the throne of Denia and the Balearic Islands, took the honourable surname of Náṣiro-d-daula, or the "defender of the State." He was succeeded by a kinsman of his, Abú Rabî Suleymán, during whose reign the Genoese and Pisans made a descent on the islands (A.D. 1114). Then the Almoravides, under Ali ben Yúsuf, crossed the Straits and established their rule in the Peninsula, to be in their turn dispossessed by the Almoḥades, another set of Africans, if possible more fanatical and rude than the former, in whose time the Moḥammedan power in the Peninsula began visibly to decay. During the eventful period that elapsed between the fall of the Almoravide dynasty in 1114, and the crossing of Abde-l-múmen, the Almoḥade, in 1131, the utmost confusion prevailed in Moḥammedan Spain. Just in the same manner as at the overthrow of the Umeyyah dynasty the provinces of their widely-spread empire became the prey of the Aamerites, and were parcelled out between the clients and adherents of that powerful family, every kaid or man of influence, who possessed a castle or counted a few followers, struck out for himself and assumed the insignia of royalty. "Andalus," says the judicious Ibn Khaldún, "afforded then the singular aspect of a country ruled by as many "kings as there were castellated towns in it." That during the Almoravide period there was in the island an African sheikh named Moḥammad Ibn Ali Ibn Músa, and another Abú Yaḥya Ibn Abí Imrán At-tinmelelí; that in 1147, or thereabouts, that same Ibn Ghániyah (Aben Gania) who in 1134 had defeated Alfonso at Fraga, was for a time ruler or governor in Mallorca, appears evident from the narrative of Al-makkarí; but who was the Abohehie or Retabohiche of the Chronicle (?). Al-makkarí, quoting a contemporary historian of Mallorca, tells us positively that Abú Yaḥya Ibn Abí Imrán At-tinmelelí was governor of that island, and that its

conquest by the Aragonese took place on the 14th of Safar, A.H. 627, or January 12, 1230, a date which agrees perfectly well with that given by Muntaner and Desclot, for although the capitulation was signed on the 31st of December, the actual possession of the city with its Almudayna (citadel) was not accomplished until a few days after. Retabohiche is evidently a corruption of Xec Abohehie or Sheikh Abú Yaḥya شيخ ابو يحيى, which happens to be also the "kunya" (*alcuña*) of Abú Yaḥya At-tinmeleli from Tinmelel, and, therefore, I have not hesitated to make the statement at page 135 and 170 *note*, namely, that the King of Mallorca's name was Abú Yaḥya [Ḥakem] Ibn Abí Imrán.

It is not so easy to dispose of the *Infantilla* of the Royal Chronicle, whose stout resistance and death in the mountainous district of the island is recorded pp. 142. Who was he, and how named? Al-makhzúmí, quoted by Al-makkarí, says that towards the end of Dzi-l-hajjah A.H. 623 (Dec. A.D. 1226) Sheikh Abú Yaḥya sent a son of his, named Moḥammad, with certain galleys to the island of Iviza for the purpose of seizing one ship from Barcelona, and another from Tortosa, which had been reported as being in those waters. That Moḥammad sailed thither, and succeeded in capturing the two ships, one a Genoese carrack, the other a Catalonian "mestech," and that this trifling success was the cause of his ruin, for that James of Aragon fitted out a powerful fleet with 20,000 men and invaded the island, &c. That Abú Yaḥya prepared for the defence, raised considerable forces amounting to 16,000 foot and 1,000 horse and despatched messengers to Africa asking for help, but that, unluckily, a most unfortunate event—a conspiracy among his own subjects, at the head of which was one Abú Ḥafs Ibn Sheyri, his own maternal uncle—counteracted his patriotic plans. Two of the conspirators, both sons of Ibn Sheyri, and the Sheikh's own cousins were immediately apprehended and beheaded. "Upon which the people of the island "(such are the words of the historian) went to Ibn Sheyri, and "said to him: 'By Allah, this state of things can no longer be "'endured! The Amír is not fit either to govern us, or to defend "'us, and as long as he rules here our lives will be entirely at the "'tyrant's mercy.'" This happened about the middle of Shawwál (A.D. 1228). Ibn Sheyri and his followers were preparing to leave Palma, and rise in the mountains, when Abú Yaḥya ordered fifty of their number, the principal and most distinguished by their birth, wealth, or talent, to be immediately brought before him.

The victims were expecting to be marched to immediate execution, when lo! a horseman appears, dressed as a courier, bringing news that the Christian fleet is in sight. No sooner, however, had the horseman delivered his message than another one from a different quarter rushed breathless into the audience chamber exclaiming: "The Christian fleet is coming: I could count seventy sail." The fact being ascertained and found to be true, Abú Yaḥya pardoned the conspirators, released them from their bonds, and exhorted them to join in the defence of the island against the common enemy. The same historian adds that after a bloody engagement, on the 18th of Shawwál, in which the people of Mallorca were completely defeated, Ibn Sheyri betook himself to the mountains, collected a force of 16,000 men, and fought until he was killed on Friday, the 10th of Rabî, the second of the year 628 (Feb. 14, 1231). The remaining fortresses in the island were taken by the Christians about the end of Regeb of the same year (May 1231), and by the month of Shâbán (June) the few who had escaped reached the dominions of Islám.

As the death of Infantilla took place before the storming of Palma he cannot be identified with Ibn Sheyri, nor can we suppose him to have been Abú Yaḥya's son as some national writers will have it; for although the latter left one who was converted to the Christian religion, and afterwards married to a daughter of an Aragonese knight named Roldan, it is proved that at his father's death he was only nine years old. Abú Yaḥya had another son of the name of Moḥammad, the same who had led the expedition to Iviza, as recounted above; his surname might have been الفاتح بالله Alfátih billah, or by contraction *Fatihilla*, whence the "Infantilla" of the Royal Chronicle.

As to the chief called *Xuaip* and *Xuarp*, described at p. 188 as a native of Xurert (?), and as having made a most gallant defence at Incha (Inca), in the interior of the island, no trace can be found of him in the annals of the Spanish Moslems. Of the two readings of his name the former seems the only correct one, *i.e.* *Shôaib* or *Xûaib* شعيب, which was frequent among the Spanish Moslems.

The same remark may be applied to *Beanabet*, *Benaabet*, or *Benahabet*, a Saracen of Mallorca, as the Royal Chronicle calls him, who not only sent supplies to James, but "placed at his disposal several rich districts"; most likely his real name was Ben Abbéd ابن عباد.

The account of the Conquest of Menorca offers no difficulties of this sort; the chief or governor of it is nowhere named in the Royal Chronicle, but Al-makkarí (vol. ii. p. 332) says that his name was Sheikh Abú Otsmán Sâíd Ibn Ḥákem Al-corashí, a native of Tavira in Portugal, and that he capitulated and remained governor of the island in James's name.[1]

For further particulars respecting the conquest of the Balearic the works of Dameto, Mut and Quadrado, may be consulted, especially the last, *Historia de la Conquista de Mallorca*, Palma, 1850. 8vo.

APPENDIX E.

THE CONQUEST OF VALENCIA.

VALENCIA had become an independent kingdom as early as the eleventh century. After the overthrow of the Beni Umeyyah dynasty, and the temporary establishment at Cordova of the Hammudites or Benu Ḥammúd, who crossed over from Sebtah (Ceuta), an Aámirite chieftain, named Abú-l-ḥasan Abdu-l-âzíz *Al-manṣúr*, rose in that city of which he had been governor for some time.[2] He was, in 452 (A.D. 1060), succeeded by his son Abdu-l-malek, who reigned five years, till 457, when the King of Toledo, Al-mámún, became master of Valencia. In 469 (A.D. 1077), on the death of that usurper, Abdu-l-malek regained possession of his capital, and was succeeded by a relative of his, Abú Bekr, until 478 (A.D. 1085), in whose time the overthrow of the Aamirite dynasty, the revolution at Valencia and the appointment of Al-Kádir Ibn Dhí-n-núnn, the dethroned King of Toledo,[3] and, finally, the rebellion of Ibn Djeḥáf جحاف, the Kadi, brought about the surrender of the city to the Cid (1094).

In October, 1101, however, Abú Moḥammad Medzeli retook

[1] Conde, *Historia de la dominacion de los Arabes en España* speaks of Abú Otsmán as if he had been king of Mallorca, but the mistake arose from the word مورقة being written in the manuscript he used without a diacritical point on the second letter, which might thus be taken either for a *nun*, Menorca, or for a *ya*, Mayorca.

[2] This Abdu-l-âziz, the founder of the dynasty, was the son of Abdu-r-raḥmán, and the grandson of Moḥammad Ibn Aámir Al-manṣúr, the celebrated Hájib or prime minister of Hixém II.

[3] After the death of Al-mamún his grandson, Yaḥya Al-Kádir, succeeded him; but shortly after Alfonso VI. of Castile took Toledo from him (A.D. 1085), one of the conditions of the capitulation being that the latter should assist him to regain possession of Valencia, which he did.

it in the name of the Al-moravid Sultan Yúsuf Ibn Téxefin, who had crossed the strait at the head of a powerful army, and who, after defeating the Christians at Zalaka (1195), put down one by one the petty kings of Moḥammedan Spain, and subjected them all to his rule. Valencia continued to be governed by Africans of the Maṣmúda and other Al-moravid tribes until, owing to a rebellion of the Valencians, Yaḥya Ibn Ghániah, the last Al-moravid governor, was obliged to fly to Mallorca, and give up the command of the place to Merwán Ibn Abde-l-âzíz, a son, or grandson, of Abde-l-âzíz, the first of the Aámirites of Valencia. Merwán's reign, however, was not of long duration. A chieftain, named Abú Abdillah [Moḥammad Ibn Sâad] Ibn Mardanísh, said to be descended from a Spanish renegade, rose against him, and deprived him of his power. Then came the Almoḥades, who, having dispossessed the Almoravides of their African dominions, were fully intent upon doing the same in Spain. Valencia was taken from Ibn Mardanísh, and a new commander appointed in 1197, Sidí Abú Zeyd Abdu-r-raḥman, son of Sidí Abú Abdillah Ibn Abí Ḥafs, and grandson of Sultán Abde-l-múmen, the Almoḥade. The battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), where his own relative, Moḥammad An-náṣir, was defeated with great slaughter, the civil wars that ensued between Al-âádil Ibn Al-manṣúr, and Abdu-l-wáḥid, both striving for the empire of the Almoḥades both in Africa and Spain, must naturally have made of Abú Zeyd an independent king instead of a governor, as he was before, for although at the period when James's Chronicle begins (1232) there was actually another ruler at Valencia, we still find him holding his own in Burriana, Castalla, and other towns of that kingdom, defending himself against the Aragonese, treating with their king, and finally forsaking his own faith, and embracing that of Christ under the name of Vicente. The name of his rival competitor to the throne was Abú Jemil or Jomail جميل Zían Ibn Mardanísh, a son or nephew of that Moḥammad Ibn Mardanísh who had dethroned Merwán. Such was the name of the ruler of Valencia when, on the 9th of October, 1238, James entered it by capitulation. Of his nephew, the Abulhamalec of the Royal Chronicle, I find no mention anywhere. Being variously spelt in the edition of 1557, as well as in the modern one of Barcelona, *Abulphamalet*, *Alfamalet* or *Abulamalet*, the nearest approach to an Arabic name seems to me to be ابن المالك, Ibn Almálek, or as Spaniards of the time would pronounce, *Abnalmalec*. The same

may be said of the Valencian Moor, a native of Peñiscola, who went to the royal camp, on behalf of Zaen (Zayyén), to treat about the surrender of Valencia, and whose name is said to have been Ali *Albaca* or *Albata*. See the notes to pp. 384 and 386.

APPENDIX F.

ON THE MILITARY ORDERS OF THE TEMPLE AND THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

MOST readers of Spanish history have no doubt met with the strange assertion that a King of Aragon, Alfonso by name, had unconditionally bequeathed the whole of his kingdoms and possessions to the Knights of the Temple and of St. John of Jerusalem—a bequest, however, which Aragonese historians, and Geronìmo Zurìta at their head—to this day refuse to recognise. The singular transaction leading to that belief is so remarkable in itself, so honourable to the political feelings of the Aragonese, so important in its consequences—whereupon hangs, as it were, the whole history of the Spanish Peninsula, and its recovery from Islám—and so intimately connected with the future greatness of Aragon, that the following summary of the story, taken from new materials, not generally accessible to the public, will perhaps not be deemed out of place.

By his will, dated the ———— of October, 1131, and renewed three years after at Sariñena, between Saragossa and Fraga, in September, 1134, Alfonso certainly divested himself of his position as a ruler and proprietor of kingdoms, in favour of a body of constitutional administrators, with defined rights and duties, and capable of carrying his warlike plans into execution. The Military Orders of the Temple and of the Hospital, to which was added by way of a civil complement that of the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, were to constitute a government, administer the country after his death, and direct the energies of the clergy, of the barons, and of the townspeople to one sole object, the war against the infidel. So is the will worded, after alluding to previous grants of lands, &c., made to the Templars and Hospitalers.

As may well be supposed, Alfonso's idea, though wisely conceived, was not destined to bear fruit. Though the half-ecclesiastical, and half-military Orders above named—especially that

of the Temple—retained most of the domains bequeathed to them, the government of the country did not fall into their hands. The temperance and judgment shown on the occasion by all parties, in what we are apt to regard as a wild, ungovernable society, is indeed very remarkable.

What passed in the interval of 1134, the date of Alfonso's death, and the accession of the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer, who by his marriage to Alfonso's daughter became King Consort of Aragon, what use the three corporations above mentioned made of that king's splendid bequest, is not generally known. However, a deed, drawn up on the 16th of September, 1140,[1] of Ramon Berenguer, as Prince of Aragon, has been preserved, which, after reciting Alfonso's will, states that the Patriarch and Chapter of the Holy Sepulchre had formally placed their interests in the hands of the Master of the Hospital, in Spain, to deal with their share of the bequest as he would do with his own. It is further recorded in the deed that the Master of that Order, after accepting the charge, had gone into Aragon, and finding that the king of that country (Ramon Berenguer) was able to govern and defend his land against the Spanish Moslems, had conditionally renounced and surrendered, in his own as well as in the Patriarch's name, their respective parts in Alfonso's inheritance. Should, however, Ramon Berenguer die without offspring, the knights and canons were to be put in possession of what belonged to them. In the meantime each of the knights was to retain three vassals, one of each religion, *i.e.*, one Christian, one Mohammedan, and one Jew, in addition to which the Order itself was to be endowed with large possessions both in Catalonia and in Aragon. The date of this instrument is not given, but the original, preserved in the Archives of Barcelona, bears the signatures of Poncius (Pons), the king's scribe, and of several bishops and noblemen. If the deed be authentic—and there is no reason to doubt its genuineness—we must conclude that at the beginning of Petronila's reign the Templars made some attempt to claim the execution of Alfonso's testament, and that the immodesty of the demand having aroused the wrath of the Aragonese and Catalans, the claim was abandoned, and a compensation given in ample domains to be held as fiefs of the Crown on the tenure of military service against the unbelievers.

[1] Published in the *Coleccion de documentos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragon*, vol. iv., p. 70.

Yet it is a remarkable fact that the Templars themselves were no parties to this agreement, notwithstanding that their interest in Alfonso's will is mentioned in the deed conjointly with that of the two Orders, the Knights of the Hospital and the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre. No record seems to exist of their dealings with them, if they had any. That they were invited to Catalonia by Ramon Berenguer, as early as the year 1134, appears almost certain, as likewise that a deputy from the Grand Master, accompanied by twelve knights, arrived soon after in Aragon, to attend an expedition against the Almoravides. Again, on the 27th of November, 1143, the same Ramon Berenguer, after reciting his goodwill and respect for the Order of the Temple, "in whose habit his father-in-law, Alfonso, had died," granted to the knights the town of Monzon and others in Aragon, the tenth of all his revenues, or an annual sum of 1,000 *solidi*, payable at Saragossa, as well as one-fifth of all lands to be conquered from the Moors, the King pledging himself not to make truce or peace with the Moslems without their concurrence or previous consent.[1] No taxes or dues to be levied on the property of the Order throughout the Aragonese dominions, &c. These grants, enormous as they now seem, Ramon Berenguer made to the Templars and Hospitalers after sincerely thanking God "for choosing them for the "defence of the Church, and inspiring them with the wish of "settling in Spain." The charter is signed by the King, by the Bishop of Saragossa, the Archbishop of Tarragona, and several more ecclesiastics of rank, as well as barons, knights, &c. No mention at all is therein made of Alfonso's will, and therefore it is to be supposed that in the interval of more than two years from the agreement with the Hospitalers and the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre to the above-mentioned grant to the Templars, some troublesome debate must have occurred, of which the parties concerned agreed to extinguish the very memory by a document which should entirely ignore Alfonso's will. There exists, however, in the Archives of Aragon, at Barcelona, what professes to be a grant from the same Ramon Berenguer to the Grand Master of the Temple, in which Alfonso's will is expressly mentioned,

[1] For this purpose a college with a prior at its head was established in the kingdom, having commanderies in four or five great towns. Such is the origin of the vast possessions which the Temple held in Aragon, afterwards considerably increased by grants from successive monarchs. So great were they that when the day came for the suppression of the Order, the Knights Templars were enabled for a time to defy the Papal injunctions.

and that official invited to send ten of his knights to Aragon, promising to give to the Order the town of Daroca and others in consideration of Alfonso's bequest, not in exchange for it. The charter, such as it is, is said to be a faithful transcript made on the 6th of September, 1311, of an undated grant by Ramon Berenguer to Raymond, or Ramon, Grand Master of the Temple.[1] But if we consider that at the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the copy is said to have been taken, the Temple was in its last agony; that three years after all the castles of that Order, including Monzon,[2] had been taken from them by sheer force; that the copy itself is not said to have been made by royal authority, but only by order of the "Vicarius" (assessor or judge) of Barcelona; that the Grand Master is therein called Ramon—a name which appears nowhere else as that of a Grand Master of the Temple—it may safely be inferred that the document in question was perhaps fabricated to help the knights in their extremity. True it is that in the same Archives a bull is shown of Pope Adrian IV., dated the 6th of April, 1156, confirming the cession made by Ramon Berenguer to the Templars of certain lands and castles, and invoking the usual terrible penalties against those who might infringe or oppose the rights of the Order.[3] But, again, Adrian's bull, though said to have been granted at the request of the knights, appears to be a copy of the original one issued by that Pope, conjointly, or shortly after Berenguer's undated grant, to which, however, no reference whatever is made. What conclusion should be drawn from the above facts in favour of the authenticity of both grant and Papal bull may be hard to say. It is, however, fair to remark that the originals, if there were any, might perhaps have been of such a nature, and so worded, as to prompt their destruction at the hands of those who a few years later were stripping the Temple of its rich possessions.

Of the part taken by the Templars and Hospitalers in the eventful transactions of James's reign, full evidence is given in the pages of this *Chronicle*. To the Master of the former, Guillem de Monredon, Pedro's son, owed, as it were, his crown, for having at Pope Innocent's intercession been removed from Carcassonne, where he was kept by Simon de Montfort, to the

[1] *Archivo de Barcelona*, vol. iv., p. 29.

[2] This last castle stood a siege of eight months before it was surrendered.

[3] *Archivo*, vol. iv., pp. 202 and 236. Adrian IV. (Nicholas Brakespeare, the Englishman) from 1154 to 1159.

castle of Monzon, on the borders of Catalonia and Aragon, then the residence of the Templars. Not only did the Master of the Order favour his flight, but helped him, when still a boy, to join the Aragonese league, and defeat the plans of his uncle, Don Fernando, as well as those of Sancho, Count of Roussillon, both of whom aimed at the crown, and who, upon James's proclamation by the Cortes of Lerida, in 1217, eagerly disputed with each other the regency of the kingdom. At the conquest of Mallorca (1230), at that of Valencia (1238), and of Murcia (1242), nay during the formidable rebellion of the Valencian Moors led by the brave Al-azrak, we find him always surrounded by his faithful Templars and Hospitalers of Catalonia and Aragon under their respective masters, Guillem de Monredon and Hugues de Forcalquièr.[1] No wonder then, if, following in the steps of his predecessors, King James rewarded their services both in camp and council with ample possessions conquered from the Spanish Moslems.

The military orders of Calatrava and Santiago de Uclés, whose principal purpose, and the one for which they were instituted, was to fight against the infidel, are often mentioned in the pages of the Chronicle, as having efficiently helped to the conquest of Valencia and Murcia. The former, instituted in 1158 by Sancho III. of Castile, and that of Santiago de Uclés, or Santiago de la Espada, created in 1170, belonged exclusively to that country. Another was that of Alcantara, in Estremadura, founded in 1218 by Alfonso IX. of Castile; lastly that of Montesa, which belonged exclusively to the crown of Aragon, was created in 1317 by James II.

APPENDIX G.

THE MORABETI AND OTHER COINS OF MOHAMMEDAN SPAIN.

In addition to note 1 at page 47, where the meaning of *Morabiti* and *Morabitin* has been explained, the following remarks may perhaps not be amiss. *Morabiti* is the generic name given to a class of gold and silver coin introduced by the kings of the African dynasty, who ruled over the Moḥammedan

[1] Monredon was a Catalonian, a native of Vich, the "Ausone" of the Romans. As to Hugues de Forcalquièr, whose name is variously written *Fuilalquer*, *Fullalquier*, &c., he was born in Aragon.

Peninsula from 1106 to 1147. *Morabiṭ* مرابط in Arabic means a "champion fighting for Islám in an advanced post (*rábiṭa*)"; it was the surname adopted by the Maṣmúda, the Zeneta, the Lamṭah, the Ḥowára, and several other African tribes, who, emerging from the Saḥara at the end of the twelfth century, under Yúsuf Ibn Téxefín, and crossing the Straits, subjected to their rule the whole of Moḥammedan Spain. Hence the coin struck by the kings of that dynasty—also known as the *Mulatsimín*, or wearers of the triangular veil or mask called litsám لثام—was called throughout Spain *morabiṭí*, whence the Spanish *maravedí*, and *juçefí* يوسفى, from that of its founder Yúsuf, are derived. The golden *morabiṭi* was equivalent in weight, though somewhat larger than the "dinar" of the Umeyyah and Abbasites in the East. It was current in the Peninsula till the middle of the fifteenth century, when it was replaced by the coinage of John II. and Henry IV. of Castile. (See Saez, *Demostracion histórica del verdadero valor de todas las monedas que corrian en Castilla durante el reynado de Enrique IV.*, Madrid, 1805, 4to.)

Besides the *morabiṭí*, as the coin of the Almoravides was generically called, I find the following specified in title deeds, marriage contracts, accounts, inventories of goods, and other documents of that age, such as: 1st, *Doblas cepties*, that is coined at Sebta or Ceuta; 2nd, *Marroquíes* from Morocco; 3rd, *Valadies* بلادى, that is "Spanish," to distinguish them from the "African"; 4th, *Zaenes*, also called *azenes* and *hazenes*, which I take to be those of Zaen زيان or Zayen, King of Valencia; 5th, *Masmudinas* and *Yucefies*, those coined by Yúsuf of the Maṣmúda tribe; 6th, *Granadies*, those of the Kings of Granada, which, like those of the Almoḥades, Beni Merîn (Benimerines), Beni Ḥafss of Tunis and other African dynasties, were double the size, though not weighing more than the older ones; 7th, *Moriscas*, a generic name for all gold coins weighing a "dinar."

With the exception of a diminutive silver-piece called قراط *kerat* (the Spanish, *quilate*), which the Almoravides used in their money transactions, and another equally small, though square, struck by the Almoḥades with the name of their "Mahdi," and the pious proclamation of God's unity, those two dynasties do not seem to have used that metal for their coinage, a proof that the silver "dirham" or "dracma" of the Beni Umeyyah, Beni Ḥammúd, and other dynasties, were still in great circulation.

APPENDIX H.

AFFAIRS OF MURCIA.

DURING that period in the history of Mohammedan Spain, which Ibn Khaldún, perhaps the most accomplished and philosophical writer of that nation, describes as *Al-fetna Ats-tsaniya*,[1] *i.e.* the period between the defeat of Moḥammad An-náṣir, the Almoḥade, at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, and the conquest of Cordova by St. Ferdinand in 1239, when, according to the words of that historian, "every kaid and man of influence, who could command a few score of followers, or possessed a castle to retire to in case of need, styled himself sultán, and assumed the insignia of royalty; when Mohammedan Spain afforded the very singular aspect of as many kings as there were castellated towns in the country," a descendant of the Hudites or Beni Húd of Saragossa, by name Abú Abdillah Moḥammad Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Húd Al jodhámi, rose in Murcia, and declared himself independent. There existed, we are told, in that city, and others of Eastern Spain, a certain prophecy purporting that some time before the middle of the seventh century of the hijra or Mohammed's flight from Mecca to Medina, the power of its African rulers, the Almoḥades,[2] would be overthrown by a man named *Moḥammad Ibn Yúsuf*, who was to rise in arms against them, expel them from the country, and restore the empire of the Moslems to its pristine power and splendour. The Almoḥade governor of Murcia, to whom an astrologer is said to have communicated the above fatal intelligence, assuring him at the same time that the predicted event was fully confirmed by his own observation of the stars, ordered a strict search to be made in his dominions, when all those who bore that suspected name were put to death without mercy, and among them a citizen of Jaen, and kinsman of Moḥammed Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Húd. This latter, however, was at Murcia quite unaware of the existing prophecy and danger threatening his life, when a wise man, dressed in the garb of a faquir, came up to him and said: "Why art thou still here?

[1] That is, "the second civil war," to distinguish it from that which followed the breaking up of the empire founded by Abdu-r-raḥmán, the first of the Beni Umeyyah.

[2] The Almoḥades of Africa and Spain did not take their name from the Mehedi, the founder of their sect, but from الموحدون Al-mowaḥḥedun, those who proclaim the unity of God.

Dost thou not know that a crown awaits you? Away, away! Look out for Al-Káshi, and he will do the rest."[1] Now this Al-káshi was a celebrated brigand and cut-throat, who, at the head of a few desperadoes, infested the roads about Murcia, and practised all manner of cruelties. On the 9th of Rejeb A.H. 625 (the 13th of June A.D. 1228), Ibn Húd met Al-káshi, by whom he was well received; both together made a raid in the neighbouring province of Albacete, already in the hands of the Castilians, and returned laden with spoil and captives. This having naturally increased the number of his partisans, and given him favour among the Murcians, Ibn Húd did not hesitate to raise the standard of revolt, and have himself proclaimed at Aṣ-ṣokhayra, a village of the neighbourhood. No sooner did Síd Abú-l-âbbás, the governor, hear of this than he attacked Ibn Húd and his adventurers; he was, however, defeated with great loss, and obliged to retreat to the seat of his government. The Murcians soon after rose tumultuously, expelled him and his Almoḥades, and sent for Ibn Húd, who, having made his triumphant entry into Murcia, was proclaimed at the end of A.H. 625, or beginning of 626, under the title of *Al mutawakkel âla'illah* (he who places his trust in God). Denia, Xátiva, and other cities of Eastern Spain, soon followed the example of Murcia.[2] Ibn Húd next reduced Granada, Malaga, and Almeria; and in November, 1229, Cordova, Jaen, Seville, and other important cities, sent in their allegiance, so that towards the close of that year, seeing himself the sole master of Mohammedan Spain, he did not hesitate to assume the titles of *Amir-al moslemin bil Andalus*, or commander of the Spanish Moslems, and despatched an embassy to Al-mustanṣer, the Abbasite, the reigning Khalif at Baghdad, requesting to be allowed to hold his dominions from him, and to have his name mentioned in the "khotba," or public prayers.

Ibn Húd, however, did not long enjoy in peace his newly acquired sovereignty. Another Moḥammad Ibn Yúsuf, Ibnu-l-aḥmar by surname, rose at Arjona in the year 629 (beg. October 28, 1321), snatched from him Granada, Jaen, Malaga, and even Cordova, and became eventually the sole ruler of Moḥam-

[1] Al-makkari, *Mohammedan dynasties*, ii. 327.

[2] During the first *fetna*, or civil war, Murcia had obeyed the Tahirites or descendants of the Ibn Ṭahir; it then passed into the hands of the Abbadites of Seville, and after them of the Almoravides, when a chief called Ibn Ayyádh, and another Moḥammad Ibn Mardanísh by name, held for a short time the supreme power.

medan Spain, and the founder of the powerful dynasty known as the Beni Al-aḥmar of Granada. Seville, which Ibn Húd had reduced under his sway as early as the 29th of November, 1228, and where he had left his own brother Abú-n-Neját Sélim to command as his lieutenant, shook off his allegiance three years after (October, 1231), and proclaimed Aḥmed Al-báji under the appellation of *Al-mútadhed-billah.*[1] In the East, Abu Jemil or Jomayl Zeyyán Ibn Mardanísh had himself proclaimed at Valencia, so that Ibn Húd was actually reduced to the possession of Murcia, Alicante, and other towns on that coast where his first rising had taken place. He was at last treacherously slain at Almeria, on the 24th of Jumáda II. of the year 635 (December 12, A.D. 1237), by his own lieutenant, Ibnu-r-remímí,[2] with circumstances savouring too much of romance for any faith to be attached to them, though related by such a grave historian as Ibnu-l-khaṭíb of Granada.[3] Moḥammad Ibn Húd was succeeded[4] by his son, Al-wátsik, the *Alboaques* of the Christian chroniclers, who, being hard pressed in Murcia by St. Ferdinand, sent to implore the assistance of Ibnu-l-aḥmar, the Granadine monarch. A body of troops was sent to his aid under the command of Ibn Ashkilola, who, having obliged the Castilians to raise the siege, entered Murcia, and had his own master proclaimed therein. As Ibn Ashkilola, however, was returning to Granada, he was suddenly attacked and defeated by one of Ferdinand's captains, upon which Al-wátsik is said to have returned to his capital, and to have ruled undisturbed until it was taken from him in A.H. 658 (A.D. 1260).

Nothing can be more obscure and contradictory than the account given by the Arabian writers of Ibn Húd and his successors. Ibnu-l-khaṭib, the historian of Granada, says that a

[1] According to Ibn Khaldún (*apud* Al-makkarí, vol. ii., p. lxxix. of the Appendix), Ibn Húd regained possession of Seville in 1233.

[2] See p. 546, where "a small "village not named between Murcia "and the mountains on the road to "Cartagena," is said to contain his tomb, and that of other members of his family.

[3] Al-makkarí, *loc. laud.*, p. 337.

[4] Not immediately, however, for the historian above quoted (vol. ii. p. 530) says distinctly that a chief named Abú Bekr Aziz Ibn Khaṭṭáb ruled over Murcia after the death of Al-mutawakkel, when he himself was dethroned and slain by Abú Jemil Zeyyán of Valencia. This Abú Jemil, who is no other than *Ibn Mardanish*, the dethroned king of Valencia, who defended Alcira against James (see the *Chronicle*, p. 445–8), and took refuge in Denia, succeeded in having Abú Zakarìyyá, the sultán of Túnis, proclaimed in Murcia. This happened in the month of Ramadhán 636 (Febr., A.D. 1239). Two years after Ibn Mardanísh himself was expelled and one of the Beni Húd proclaimed.

certain Abdullah (?) Ibn Húd, King of Murcia, sent an embassy to Rome for the purpose of imploring the Pope to intercede with the King of Castile (St. Ferdinand), who, he asserted, had wilfully broken the treaty entered into with him. He even goes as far as to name Ibn Húd's agent at Rome, a Murcian named Abdu-l-ḥakk Ibn Ibráhim Ibn Moḥammad Al-mursí, or else his brother, Abú Tálib. On the other hand, Ibn Khaldún informs us that a sheikh of the name of Ibnu-l-Khaṭṭáb (Abû Beer, Aziz Ibn Abdel-malek), who had reigned in Murcia since A.H. 636 (beg. A.D. 1238), was put to death by Ibn Mardanísh (Zeyyán). However this may be, at his death, on the 4th of Moḥarram, A.H. 636 (August 26, A.D. 1238), his dominions in Spain were divided among various princes more or less connected with the Beni Húd, or belonging to the rival party of the Almoḥades. Moḥammad Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Húd seems to have had three brothers: 1. Abú-n-Neját Sélim, surnamed *Imádo-d-daulah* (the column of the State), whom he had left in command at Seville[1] during his short rule in that city; 2. Abú Isḥák *Sherfo-d-daulah* (the ornament of the State); 3. Abúl-l-ḥasan [Ali] *Adhado-daulah* (the arm of the State). If to this be added that all these princes are generally designated under the family name of Ibn Húd, which Spanish contemporary chroniclers, and Roderíc of Toledo among them, turned into "Abenhudiel," the uncertainty increases as to Moḥammed Ibn Húd's successor in Murcia, whether it was his son Aḥmed *Al-wátsik*, or his nephew Abú Abdillah Moḥammad *Adhado-d-daulah*, the son of Ali Ibn Yúsuf, who in 639 (A.D. 1241) became the vassal of Ferdinand, and admitted a Christian garrison in the citadel of Murcia.

We are further informed that not satisfied with this mark of vassalage, or, as is more probable, owing to the Moorish king having entered into some secret compact with Ibnu l-Aḥmar of Granada, Ferdinand sent against Murcia his own son, Alfonso, who took final possession of that city in 644 (A.D. 1246). During the formidable rising of the Valencian Moors under Al-azrak, and that of Seville and other large towns in Andalusia, encouraged, if not altogether promoted, by the ambitious Ibnu-l-Aḥmar, and which a fresh invasion of the Beni Merin was calculated to foment, the Murcians again rose, expelled the Castilian garrisons,

[1] Abú Zakariyyá Yaḥya Ibn Abí Ḥafs, the founder of the dynasty of the Benî Ḥafs at Tunis; the same whose fleet appeared on the coast of Valencia during the siege of that city by James (see pp. 378 and 383), and who threatened also Mallorca.

and chose Alboaques (Al-wátsik) for their king. Murcia, however, was speedily reduced by Alfonso X. and his auxiliary, James of Aragon, and on the 13th of January, 1265, according to Cascales, that city was definitively united to the crown of Castile,[1] though the Royal Chronicle tells us (fo. 8) that Alfonso, "wishing to have a king for his vassal," appointed to the vacant throne a brother of Al-mutawakkel Ibn Húd (un hermano de Aben Húd), who might very well be identified with the Abdallah of Ibnu-l-khaṭíb.[2]

The Royal Chronicle does not help us much to fix the chronology among such conflicting statements, and, although nothing is stated in it likely to jar with the above facts, as preserved by the native Moslem historians, it must be owned that this part of James's book is somewhat wanting in detail. This might have been caused by his not feeling sufficient interest in the conquest of a kingdom, which after all could not be his, since by an agreement concluded between his own father and Ferdinand of Castile, the delimitation of all conquests to be made over the Spanish Moslems had previously been fixed upon.

APPENDIX I.

CIVIL AND MILITARY CONSTITUTION.

THE constitution of Aragon having been amply discussed in especial works on the subject, I do not consider it necessary to refer to it here further than to explain the meaning of a few words and offices connected with it. Over the chiefs or captains of the different divisions of an army there was in Catalonia and Aragon, in the thirteenth century, as in almost every feudal state throughout Europe, a *seneschal*, a *constable*, or a *Major domus*. In Aragon

[1] *Discursos historicos de Murcia y su Reyno*, Murcia, 1621, fol. 25.

[2] By merely adding *Abú* before and *Moḥammad* after the name of Ibnu-l-Khattáb—no arbitrary change, since *Abú Abdillah* happens to be the favourite *kunyah* (alcurnia) for all the *Moḥammads*,—owing to the Prophet having had a son called Abdullah (the servant of God)—we can, therefore, easily arrive at the name of *Abú* Abdillah [Moḥammad] Ibn Al-Khattáb, though it must be said that Ibn Khaldún (*apud* Al-makkarí ii. lxxviii.) calls him Abú Bekr Aziz Ibn Abdi-l-malek Ibn Khattáb, and says that he had reigned in Murcia since the commencement of 636 (beg. August 13, A.D. 1238). Again, at page 544 of the Royal Chronicle, one Ibn Húd, *rais* (lord) of Crevillen, is mentioned, who must have been a member of the family.

the office of "Mayordomo" was temporary; in Catalonia it was hereditary in the family of Moncada, whose chief or head had used from time immemorial the title of *dapifer*.[1]

Besides the "Mayordomo," whose functions were both military and civil, there was in Aragon a magistrate called "Justicia Mayor," whose duties and functions are defined in many Spanish works devoted to that subject.[2] Every large town had its "justicia," the smaller ones an "alcayde,"[3] with jurisdiction in civil as well as in criminal cases, assisted by assessors, or *pro-homens* (prud-hommes), inhabiting the place where the case was tried.

The *Zalmedina*, or *Zavalmedina*, a word derived from ساد sáda (he commanded), and مدينة (the city) was the chief magistrate in Saragossa, the capital of Aragon.[4] The choice was made annually by the King among six candidates presented by the "prohomens." As to the "batles" or "bayles," whose chief occupation was the collection of taxes, royal dues, &c., they seem to have exercised also military and civil jurisdiction in certain cases as the King's lieutenants or governors. *Junteros* and *Sobrejunteros*, often mentioned in the *Fueros de Aragon*, were municipal officers without jurisdiction of their own, and yet bound to see to the execution of the law. The latter, called also "paers," from the Lat. *paciarii*, seem to have had functions similar to those of the "veguers" in Catalonia and "viguiers" in France.

There was again the "merino," or "mayorino," whose duty was to see to the execution of the King's orders, as well as of the sentences of judges. Under him were the "alguaciles," sometimes called "sayones" and "porquerones."

As to *rich-homen*, *infanzon*, *honor*, *cavalleria*, and other terms

[1] The office of Dapifer in the Royal Household, a sewer, a steward (qui dapem fecit), was equivalent to that of the Grand Maitre d'Hôtel (*Major domus*) or seneschal, which is the true German appellation. *Constable* comes from *comes Stabuli* or "Chef de l'Ecurie."

[2] See among others Blancas *Aragonensium rerum Commentarii*, Saragossa, 1588, and Sempere, *Historia del derecho español*, lib. iii., cap. xx.

[3] The "alcayde" must have exercised civil as well as military functions like the Spanish *corregidor de capa y espada*, as otherwise he would have been mentioned in the Aragonese Fueros (ordinances) as *alcalde*, a word derived also from the Ar., and conveying a different meaning, since it proceeds from a quite different root, *Káda* (whence *al-cáyid*) signifies the chief, the governor, *alcayde*, whereas *Kadha* means "to judge and to sentence."

[4] I can find no other etymology of Calmedina or Çada-l-medina, than the one here suggested, especially as the duties of that officer seem to have answered to those of the *Wala-l-medina*, or "*Præfectus urbis*," of the Arabs.

of the feudal and military system prevailing in Catalonia and Aragon during the thirteenth century, sufficient explanation has been given in the notes to enable the readers to understand their meaning; for further details Mr. de Tourtoulon's admirable resumé, *Jacme I. le Conquerant*, tom. ii. chap. vii. may be consulted, as well as *Geschichte Aragonien's in Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1828, by Al. Schmidt.

GLOSSARY

Of words, chiefly derived from the Arabic, explained in the notes, with their etymology and meaning.*

A.

AÇALA (Sp. *azala*), prayer, from the Ar. *salaat*, with the art. *as-sala*, 567.

ADALIL (Sp. *adalid*), guide, foreman; from the Ar. *ad-dalil*, 334, 558.

ADOBE, ADOVE } unburnt bricks, from the Arabic *tôb*, 315.

ADZEMBLA (Sp. *azémila*), from the Ar. *zemila*, beast of burden, pack-horse, 257, 548.

AGUAYTAR, *v. Guayta.*

ALBACAR (Sp. *albacara*), out-tower in a fortress; also a pulley (*trochlea*), from the Ar. *bacara*, 84, 307, 361.

ALBALAT, ALBALATE } names of several towns in Valencia and other prov. of Spain, from the Ar. *albalád*, the town.

ALBARRANA, watch-tower, keep (Sp. *torre exenta*), or detached from the other defences; from the Ar. *barran*, 423, 543.

ALBIXERES (Sp. *albricias*), from the Ar. *bisháyir;* "good news," and the reward expected or given for them, 287.

ALBUFERA, the lake close to Valencia; from the Ar. *al-buḥeyra* (the little sea), 370.

ALCAIT (Sp. *alcaide*), captain, chief, governor, 367, 428, 565.

ALCALA, the castle; from the Ar. *calâa; Alcalatén*, the two castles, 225.

ALCAÇAR, ALCAZAR } a fortified palace; from *casr*, 564.

ALCATIB (Sp. *Alcatibe*), scribe, scrivener, secretary; from the Ar. *Kátib* (writer), and *Kataba* (he wrote), 467.

ALCOLEJA (Sp. *Alcolea*), a small castle; from the Ar. *coleia*, the dim. of *calâa* (alcalá), a castle, 580.

ALCORA (Sp. *alcorán*), from the Ar. *Korán*, book, 216, 446.

ALCUÑA (Sp. *alcurnia*), from the Ar. *cunyá*, a surname; also lineage, family, &c., 51.

ALFAMA, ALHAMA } hot baths, Lat. *thermæ*, from the Ar. *hamma*, 551. Many are the places in Spain and Portugal named Alfama, Alhama, Alhamilla, &c.

ALFAMBRA (Sp. *alhambra*), a castle of Valencia; from the Ar. *al-ḥamrá*, fem. of *al-ḥamr* (the red), 227. *Al-ḥamrá* (the red), the Alhambra of Granada.

ALFANDECH (Sp. *alfondiga* and *alhondiga*, Fr. *fondisque*), the inn; also the market; from the Ar. *fandac* and *fondoc*. Written with an *h*, Alhandec means a ditch, a hole, a valley, as at p. 427.

ALFAQUIM (Sp. *Alfaquí*), a lawyer, a man versed in the *fich*, or Mohammedan law, 158, 213, 441; also a learned man, a physician; *v. Alhaquim.*

ALFORJA, a saddle-bag, a knapsack, *v. Serrons.*

ALFORRAT (Sp. *horro, ahorrado*), free, disembarrassed; from the Ar. *horro* (liber), 254. In old Sp. *ahorrar* meant to free or redeem a slave.

ALFORRO, a freed slave, 445.

* In writing words derived from the Ar. the orthography adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society has been most scrupulously followed in this Glossary, as well as in the preceding Appendix.

ALGARAVIA (Sp. *algarabía*), the Arabic language, *al-lóghat al-arabia*; Ar. *lôgha* (tongue), and *arabia* (arabic), 287, 294.

ALGARADA, a war engine used in sieges, from *al-aarada*, 139, 261, 263-5; also raid, foray, incursion, from *ghára*.

ALGARBE, the west, from the Ar. *garb*, 607.

ALGARRADA, a war engine; *v. Algarada*.

ALGAZARA, war-cry, sort of howling noise made by Moors coming out of an ambush; from the Ar. *garada* (?), 378.

ALGEZIRA, from the Ar. *gezira*, an island, 444.

ALGUACIR (Sp. *Alguacil*), from *wazír*, a vizier or prime minister: also an inferior officer of justice, bumbailiff, 559.

ALGUEBE (from the Ar. *Al-ghávib*), emigrant, absentee, 359.

ALHANDEC, *v. Alfandech*.

ALHAQUIM (Sp. *alhaquime*), a learned man, a physician, 158, 213, 441.

ALIMARA (?), 577; *v. Almenara*.

ALJAMA, from *jamaa*, congregation, meeting, council, assembly of notables, place of worship on Fridays, 538, 540.

ALMAGREB, the West in general, from *garb* and *magreb*, 607.

ALMANGANECH, a war engine, most likely from μαγανος, though said to be the Ar. *manjanek*, 29, 139, 424, 552.

ALMARGE, the same as *Marjal*, *q.v.*

ALMATRACH (Sp. *almadraque*), a mattress; from the Ar. *matrah*, a couch or reclining place, 213, 277.

ALMENAR (Sp. *Almenara*), a tower for making fire-signals, from *menara* (locus lucis), *nár* in Ar. being "light," and also "fire." From the same root are derived *alminar*, *minarete*, &c., meaning the tower of a mosque, whence prayers are proclaimed by the *almuedano* or *muezzin*. 95, 378, 524.

ALMEXIA (Sp. *Almexí*), tunic, turban, from *al-mehxia*, or *al-megxia*, tegumentum capitis, seu corporis, 426

ALMINAR, *v. Almenar*.

ALMOCATEN (Sp. *almocaden*), from the Ar. *mocaddam*, he who marches in front of the host, leader, captain, 670.

ALMOFAR, from *mighfar* (cassis, galea); properly speaking the net of mail attached to the helmet so as to cover the back of the neck, 50.

ALMOGAVAR, a raider, a maker of forays or incursions (*algaras*) into an enemy's country; participle or noun of agent of *gára*, "to make incursions, to invade," 193, 292, 453, 545. App. B, pp. 681-2.

ALMOJARIFE, from the Ar. *mojárif*, a tax collector, 213, 468.

ALMORAVID, from *Almorávit*, an African belonging to one of the tribes known as *Morábitin*, *q. v.*

ALMOHADES, from *al-mowahhid* (he who professes the unity of God, Unitarian); *al-mowahhidun-in*, an African dynasty, 444-5.

ALMUDAYNA, from *mudaina*, dim. of *medína*, a city. The *almudayna* of Mallorca was a *citadel* within the walls. 173-5. From the same root come *almudena* and *modon*, the plur. of *medína*.

ALMUEDANO, the "muezzin" or clerk who proclaims the *idzam* from the top of a tower in a mosque; *v. Almenara*.

ALMUNIAN
ALMUNIEN
: from the Ar. *munién*, the dual of *munia*, or *minia*, a garden. There are in Spain several towns and villages bearing that appellation, such as Almunia de Doña Godina, del Romeral, &c 521.

ALQUACER (Sp. *alcazar*), a palace surrounded by fortifications, from the Ar. *al-casr*, 357.

ALQUERIA (Sp. *Alcarria*), a village, a farm-house, from the Ar. *al-caria*, 335, 428, 434, 540, 546.

ALSUNNARIA (Fr. *Saunerie*), place for salt granaries at Montpellier, 416.

AMÍR, a prince, a chief; *v. Miramamolí*.

AMIT (Sp. *amito*) from the Lat. *amictus*), a garment; the piece of linen cloth which priests used to put on their heads whilst saying mass, 174.

ANDALOS
ANDALUS
: name given to Spain (Hispania) by the Arabs; (*beláda-l-andalos*) or the land of the Vandals, whence *Andalucía*, 451, 496, 618.

ANFIL (Sp. *añafil*), from Ar. *nafír*, a trumpet, 428, 493.

APOSTOLI } Apostolicus, the Pope, 6.
APOSTOLIC }

ARLOT (Fr. *arlot*, Sp. *arlote*), a rogue, a cheat, a harlot (?), "exir *d'arlot*," and "trotar *d'arlot*," to rush disorderly and in confusion, 123; *note* 229.

ARRAEZ } headman, chief, captain, from *rás* (head), and
ARRAYAZ } *ráyis* (chief); in later times the captain of a Turkish galley, 624.

ARRECIFE, *v. Risafa*.

ASEQUIA (Sp. *azequia*), from the Ar. *sékia* ("rivulus quo irrigatur terra"), irrigating canal or trench, 372.

ASTOR-ES (Sp. *Estera-s*), from the Lat. *storea*, a mat, principally that made of the esparto-weed, 213.

ASTRUCH (Sp. *astroso*), unfortunate, born under an unlucky star, 633.

ATALAYA, watch-tower, from the Ar. *talaia*, 547.

ATALAYAR, derived from the above; to overlook the country from the top of an *atalaya*, or watch-tower, 547.

ATZAGAYE (Sp. *Azagaya*), a javelin or short lance, much in use among the Moors of Spain; probably from the Berber *zagai*, 173.

ATZAURES, *v. Zabra*.

ATZEMBLA (Sp. *Azemila*), a pack-horse, a beast of burden, from the Ar. *zemila*, "camelus onerarius qui suppelectilem et commeatum portat," *v. Adzembla*, 257, 548

ATZEMBLER, muleteer, *ibid.*

AXARQUIA (Sp. *Ajarquia*), Ar. *sharquia*, whence *sharquí*, an oriental or Saracen, 190.

AXEREA, civil law among Mohammedans, *v. Xara*.

AYOS (a-a-yós), the prolonged and monotonous cry of sailors when at work; perhaps derived from *ayús* (up), 121, 263.

AZUDA, *v. Suda*.

B.

BABELBELED, from *báb* (gate), and *el-beléd* (of the country), one of the gates of Palma, in Mallorca, 166, 171.

BABUIT (Sp. *babera*), the lower part of a helmet destined to protect the mouth and chin (Fr. *mentonnière*), 50.

BALESTA (Sp. *Ballesta*, Fr. *arbaletre*), a cross-bow, 224, 565.

——— *ad tor* (ballesta de arco), winch cross-bow, *de deus peus* (two-footed), 276.

BARBACANA, barbican; derived from *báb* (gate), and *al-khána*, a second, outermost, and lower wall in a fortress, 279, 375, 423.

BARBUDA, forepart of the helmet covering the cheeks, the mouth, and the chin (Sp. *babera*), 336.

BARON, from the German *bahr*, a synonym for prohomen; in Fr. "prudhomme," 67.

BASTIDA, a wooden tower, a war engine for approaching a fortress, 67.

BATLE (Sp. *bayle* and *baylío*, Fr. *bailli*), king's lieutenant, governor, 165.

BAUECA (Sp. *babieca*), a fool, 338; also the horse of the Cid.

BELAD (Sp. *albalat*), a town, the country, the fields; whence *Belaa*, *Balate*, *Albolote*, and *Velez*, frequent in Spanish topography, 50.

BESANT, a coin struck at Byzantium or Constantinople, 158, 309.

BORNOS (Sp. *Albornoz*), hooded cloak much in use among Africans and Moors, 174.

BOVATGE (Lat. *bovaticum*), tax on arable land in Catalonia, payable once in each reign, and levied on each yoke of oxen (bous), 105, 510.

BRICA-ES, flat-bottomed vessel for the transport of horses, 112.

BRIGOLA, catapult, war engine used in sieges, 525, 580, 582.

BUCO, buyço, kind of engine, furnished with a ram and ropes to pull down a house, 417.

C.

CABALLERIA } a sort of feudal presta-
CAVALLERIA } tion in Aragon, 21.

CADRELLA (Sp. *quadrilla*), gang, troop, 176.

CAFIÇ (Sp. *cahiz*), corn measure, from the Ar. *cafiz*, 25, 321, 617.

CAFIZADA, a land measure, the extent of ground which requires a *cafiz* of corn as seed, 398.

ÇAIDIA, name of a palace at Valencia, 357.

CAIT, *v. Alcait*.

CALAHORRE (Sp. *Calahorra*), term used to designate a strong tower defending the entrance of a bridge or pont-coulis, from *Calhorra*, a Berber word, 541, 543-4.

CALDERA (Sp. *caldero*, *calderon*; Fr. *chaudron*), tax levied on the dyers of Lerida, Barcelona, and other towns of Catalonia upon each cauldron, vat, or copper pan used in their craft, 76.

ÇADELMEDINA, ÇALMEDINA } *v. Zalmedina.*

CAPITOL (Sp. *cabildo* and *capitulo*), a meeting of elders, 563..

CARAVANA (Sp. *carabana*), a convoy, a fleet of merchant vessels; also the *cáfila*, or troop of men or camels marching together, 379.

CEQUIA (Sp. *Azequia*), a watercourse, canal, or trench, for the purpose of irrigating land, 136, 372.

COCCA, COCHA, COQUA } (Fr. *coque* and *coche*), a small vessel of Bayonne and its coast, 194.

COMIT (Sp. *comitre*), the boatswain on board a galley; Lat. *comes* (?), 114.

CONSEYL (Sp. *Concejo*), the civic body of a small town, and the place of its meeting, 254.

CORRAL, inclosed space adjoining a house, court-yard; also a square or "piazza," 65.

ÇUNA (Sp. *zuna*), preceptive law, religion, 473.

D.

DAMIT (?), *v. Amit.*

DARGA, pl. dargues (Sp. *adarga*), from the Ar. *darka*, a shield, 493.

DENTEYL (Sp. *dintel*, Fr. *linteau*, Lat. *acroterium*), the battlements of a tower or wall, 310.

E.

EN, prefix to a knight's name, equivalent to Don, Sieur, Sire, 8, 16, 74.

ENCALÇ, ENCALÇADA } from Lat. *incalcare*, persecution, pursuit, 551.

ENCANT, a sale by auction, 177.

ESRIVA (Sp. *escribano*), a scrivener or notary, 289.

ESTAM (Sp. *estambre*, *estameña*; Lat. *stamen*), worsted, 424.

EXEA LA? Jewish interpreter to James, 559, 562.

EXEREA (Sp. *Axarea*), civil law among Mohammedans, 380, 473; also the gate (*bab exerea*), or "the gate of justice," in a *kasbah* or fortified palace, 375, 380.

EXORTIN, EXORTIQUIN } royal guard of the King of Mallorca, from the Ar. *shorṭa*, or *esh-shorṭa*; "satellites prætoris," prætorial guard, &c., 173.

——— of the rebel Al-azrach, 494.

F.

FANEGA, a sack, from the Ar. *fanéca*; also a measure of grain of about one hundred weight, or a bushel, 25.

FONEJAR (Sp. *hondear*), to work the slinging machine called fonevol, and shoot stones with it; from Lat. *funda* (sling), 582.

FONEVOL (*fundibulus*), a slinging machine, 25, 139, 141, 580-2.

FOSSAR (Sp. *fosa*, *fuesa*, *foso*), a foss, a moat; from the Lat. *fodere* to dig; also a cemetery or burial ground (Sp. *ossario*, from Lat. *ossa*), 61.

FUSTA-ES (Sp. *fusta*), wood, vessel, ship, fustee, 113.

G.

GALOTXES (Fr. *galoches*), slippers, 210.

GARB (Sp. *Algarbe*), the West; from the Ar. *garb*, 114.

GARBÍ, GARBIN } the west wind, from *garb*, 114, 607.

GARNACHA, GARNATCHA, GRANACHA } a scarlet robe, 336.

GAYTE, GUAYTE } *v. Guayta* and *Aguaytar.*

GENET (Sp. *ginete*), a rider with short stirrups; from Zeneta, an African tribe, 496, 546.

GONELLA, dim. of gonio (Fr. *gonelle*), a sort of cassock used by soldiers, 276.

GONIO, the hauberk, or piece of chain armour covering the head and shoulders; also a waistcoat under the armour, 24, 136, 174, 263, 279, 337.

GRAO, GRAU } (Lat. *gradus*), strand, shore, landing-place, 298.

GUADALAVIAR (Sp. *Guadalabiad*), the white river; from the Ar. *guáda* (river), and *al-abiadh* (the white), 370.
GUARDACORS, a vest, 174.
GUARNAGE / GUARNATXE } a mail coat (?) 336.
GUAU (Fr. *gué*), the ford of a river, 427.
GUAYTA (Fr. *guet*, Sp. *guaita*), night-watch, out-scouts and explorers of an army; whence *aguaytar* (*gueter*), to keep watch, 621.

H.

HONOR, synonymous of fief; meaning of the word in Aragon; 21, 181.
HORENETA (Sp. *golondrina*, Fr. *hirondelle*), a swallow, 322.
HORTA, *v. Orta.*
HURDES (Fr. *hourdes*), the hurdles or covered galleries for the siege of a town, 144, 276.

J.

JOUVADA / JOVADA } (Sp. *yugada*), a measure of land, the extent of ground which a pair of oxen can plough in twenty-four hours, 359, 398.

L.

LA / LE } the negative of the Arabs, no, not, 125.
LADI (Sp. *ladino*), "sarrasi ladí," the Moor or Saracen who could speak Latin, 426.
LALCORA, *v. Alcorá.*
LATINAT, the Moor who speaks Romance or the corrupt Latin of the Middle Ages (Sp. *moro ladino*), 533; *v. Ladí.*
LEBECH / LEBEG } (Sp. *Lebeche*), wind from the south-west, *lybicus*, 114, 605.
LENY (Sp. *leño*), a vessel, from "lignum," 113; *v.* also *Fusta.*
LLABEIG, *v. Lebech.*
LLADONER, the nettle or lote tree (*Celtis australis*), 259.

M.

MANGANEL / MANGONEL } (Fr. *mangoneau*), kind of war engine used for sieges, 29, 60, 138, 265.
MANTEL / MANTELL } (Sp. *mantelete*, Lat. *mantellum*), a mantlet, or roofed-over engine destined to the protection of sappers, 276.
MANTEGA (Sp. *manteca*), the best part of milk, cream, butter; from the Ar. *mantica* (?), 216.
MARJAL, a field, pasture-ground, low land; from the Ar. *marj*, 370, 427.
MASMODIN, kind of silver coin similar to *morábeti*; the African tribe of the Maṣmúda, being one of those called *al-morabiṭín*. Maṣmodin is the plur. of *maṣmodí*.
MERINO (Lat. *Majorinus*), a royal officer exercising jurisdiction in a town; also an inspector of sheep-walks, from the sheep called "oveja merina," 64.
MESGUIDA / MESQUITA } (Sp. *mezquita*), a place of worship and prostration, from the Ar. *mesjid*, 362, 467, 567.
MESTECH (Sp. *mistico*), latteen-sail, xebec, settee, 686.
MEYNADA (Sp. *meinada*, Fr. *mesnée*), the train of armed followers of a king or baron, 62, 200, 453.
MIRAMAMOLI / MIRAMAMOLIN } (*Commander of the faithful*), title given to certain Mohammedan princes, *amir* meaning "commander," and *mumenín* plur. of *mumín*, "the faithful," 161, 541.
MORABATI / MORABETI } (Sp. *maravedí*), a kind of coin, 47, 285, 508.

N.

NA, fem. of *En* or *Enna*, 74; *v. En.*

O.

ORTA (Sp. *huerta*), a garden; name given in Spain to all irrigated plains adjacent to a town, like those of Valencia, Murcia, Orihuela, &c., 302, 535, 554.

P.

PAER (L. Lat. *paciarius*, Sp. *sobrejuntero*), a juryman, 579.
PARATGE, the spot on which stands the original mansion of a noble family (Sp. *solar*), 292.

PARATGE, Cavaler de (*i.e. de solar conocido*), the descendant of an ancient family (*hidalgo*), 292.

PELECH, from *pelagus*, the sea, 204.

PENYORA (Lat. *pignora*, Sp. *empeño*), pawn, pledge, 58.

PERPUNT (Fr. *pourpoint*), a quilted coat; the *gambax* or *gambesson* of the French, 50, 276, 278, 335.

PERSET, PRESET } silk cloth (*persicus* (?), 24, 424.

PLADÉS-ES (Fr. *plaideur*), a pleader, advocate, 518.

POBLA (Sp. *pola* and *puebla*), a settlement, 621.

PROHOMEN (Fr. *prudhomme*, Sp. *prohombre*), chief citizen, notable, procurator, and deputy to the Cortes, 637.

PUIG (Lat. *podius*, Sp. *puch*), a hillock, 62, 226.

Q.

QUINTAR (Sp. *quintal*), from the Ar. *kinṭár*, one hundred weight, 216.

QUINTES (Sp. *quintos*), the fifth part of the revenue, or of the spoil made in war, &c., 51.

R.

RABATA, REBATA } incursion, raid, foray, 556.

RABOSTER, REBOSTER } (Sp. *repostero*), head cook, butler, 17, 79, 328.

RAIS (Sp. *arraez*), from the Ar. *ráyis*, a chief, a captain, 444, 544, 624.

RAISES, pl. of the above, 624.

RAMBLA, from the Ar. *ramla*, a sandy place, 398.

RAPITA (Sp. *rábida*), a barrack for frontier soldiers among the Spanish Moslems; from the Ar. *rábita*, locus ubi quidam adstringitur ad servitiun Dei in hostium confinibus, whence *marbút*, *morabit*, *rebato*, *ribéte*, &c., all derived from the same root, *rabata*, 556.

RECEN-ES, the same as *refenes* (Sp. *rehenes*), hostage, 428.

REQUE (Sp. *recua*), 553.

REYALS (Sp. *Reales*), camp, encampment, particularly where the king's tent is pitched, 564.

RIBETE, the seam or border of a dress; also the enemy's frontier, from Ar. *ribát*, 555.

RICH HOMEN (Sp. *rico hombre*), a baron or lord; from the German *reich*, a powerful man, 34, 161, 242, 514.

RISAFAH, RUSAFA } name of a palace at Valencia, from the Ar. *raṣafa*; whence the Sp. *arrecife*, a paved road. *Arrizafa* is likewise the name of a convent, once a palace, in Cordova, 371.

RODDO, imperative mood of the verb *radda*, repellere, resistire, to be steady in fight, 170.

S.

SAGETIA (Sp. *saetia*), a ferry-boat for the crossing of rivers, 601.

SAGRISTA (Sp. *sacristan*), sacristan, clerk, sexton, 219.

SAMIT (Lat. *samitum*, Sp. *xamete*), silken cloth manufactured in Xam (Syria), 174, 572.

SARRAI, SARRAIN, SARRAY } *v. Sarrasí.*

SARRASI, SARRASIN } an Eastern man, a Mohammedan from the East; name improperly given in the Chronicle to the African and Spanish Moors, who were *maghrebin* (western) instead of *xarquin* (eastern), 190-1.

SEGETA (Sp. *saeta*, Lat. *sagitta*), arrow, 310.

SENDAL (Sp. *zendal*), fine linen cloth, from the Ar. *sendl*, 381.

SERRONS (Sp. *serones*), augm. of *sera*, a basket of plaited osier willow, or esparto, from the Lat. *sero*; also *alforjas*, or knapsack made of the same materials, 229.

SERVENT (Sp. *sirviente*, Fr. *servant* and *sergeant*), the man-at-arms who had not yet received the order of chivalry, and who served as squire to a knight, 425.

SID (Sp. *Cid*), a lord, 49, 51; *Sidí*, my lord, both synonymous of *muley* in Ar. with the personal pronoun at the end, 51.

SUDA, name of a palace at Saragossa, from the Ar. *sudda*, "porta domus, vestibulum"; also obstructio, dam in a river, whence the Sp. *azuda*, 44.

T.

TAFULLA, TAHULLA } a measure of land in Valencia and Murcia; from the Berber *tahul* (?), 617.

TAIFA, from the Ar. *táyifa*, an assembly of men, a party and a faction, 683.

TAPIA, a cob-wall, from the Ar. *ṭábia*, 315.

TARIDA, TERIDA } transport, vessel for the carriage of troops and horses (from Ar. *ṭerída*), 112, 122.

TAUT (Sp. *atahúd* and *ataúd*), box, coffin, hearse; from the Ar. *ṭabút*, 57.

TIZÓ (Sp. *tizona*), the sword of the Cid; also that of James, 278.

TORCIMANY (Sp. *truchiman*), from the Ar. *turjimán*, an interpreter, 212, 538.

TORNEIG (Sp. *torneo*), a tournament; Fr. *tournois, pas d' armes*, 373.

TORNÉS (Fr. *tournois*), a coin of France, 611.

TRABUCH, TRABUQUET, TREBUCHET } catapult, war engine, 138-9, 140-1, 220-1.

TROTER, a mounted scout, 335-6.

TRUJAMA, TRUJAMAN, TRUJANMA } 212, 538; *v. Torcimany*.

V.

VEGUER (Fr. *viguier*), from the Lat. *vicarius*, an inferior officer of justice, 701.

VEYL (Sp. *viejo*), old man; used as a title. Don Veyl, that is "sheikh, senior," whence the modern señor," 167.

VIAFORS, "out with you"; Cat. expression equivalent to the French "sauve qui peut," 349.

X.

XARA, civil law among Mohammedans; *v. Axerea*, 473.

XEC, XECH } (Sp. *xeque*), from the Ar. *shekh*, "an old man" (lo veyl), the head of a tribe (senyor), Lat. *senior*, 135, 217.

XELOCH (Sp. *xaloque*), the wind from the east, sirocco, 610.

XEREA (Sp. *xara*), from the Ar. *sharea*, Mohammedan civil law, 375, 473.

Z.

ZABRA, a kind of vessel used in the Mediterranean; from the Ar. *sabra*, 377.

ZAKA, ZEKA } (Sp. *Azaque*), the tithe or religious tax paid in Mohammedan countries. "Quod de opibus datur ac consecratur Deo, elemosyna," 49.

ZALMEDINA (Sp. *Çaldalmedina*) the chief magistrate (*præfectus urbis*), 701.

ZARCO, from the Ar. *azrac*, "he of the blue eyes"; surname of a Moorish chieftain, 473, 475.

ZUNA, ZUNES } from *sunna*, traditional law founded on the Korán, 473.

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THE END.

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